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NATO Officials Begin Central Asian 'Propaganda Trip'

LD2806162093 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1400 GMT 28 Jun 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] According to a POSTFACTUM agency report, a NATO delegation is starting out on a propaganda trip through Central Asia countries. The aim of the trip is to acquaint the public of the region with the role and tasks of NATO in the modern world. This is a POSTFACTUM agency report. It is possible that Western experts will also give advice to the Central Asian military, who are now encountering problems new to them.

NATO Council Discusses Estonian-Russian Ties

WS2906104793 Tallinn BNS in English 0655 GMT 29 Jun 93

[Text] Tallinn, June 28, BNS—The topic of Estonian-Russian relations erupted acutely at a meeting of the NATO Council in Brussels today.

"Estonia started first by explaining, point by point, the positions of Estonia and Russia on the issue," Clyde Kull, the Estonian ambassador to Brussels, told BNS.

Russian Ambassador Afanasyevskiy, responded in his address reiterating his country's allegations of human rights violations in Estonia. The Russian diplomat called Estonia's the acceptance in the Council of Europe as premature, because, he claimed, "Estonia is violating the norms of the Council of Europe."

The Russian ambassador, citing examples of what he called legislation that discriminates against national minorities in Estonia, mentioned the laws on aliens and on the elections for local councils, as well as rulings by the City Councils of Tallinn and Tartu on the military of foreign armed forces.

Afanasyevsky at the same time said that statements by Russian authorities are not to be interpreted as fanning a conflict against Estonia. Nor did the Russian representative mention possible economic sanctions against Estonia, Kull said.

A U.S. representative at the meeting said the withdrawal of Russian troops from Estonia must not be linked to any other condition. The U.S. representative also said Russia should finish its "Soviet-era rhetoric, threats and economic pressure."

The British ambassador expressed his concern over a conflict between two countries—Estonia and Russia—both of which are on friendly terms with Great Britain. He said his country is going to take steps in both Moscow and Tallinn to help find a solution to the conflict.

The NATO Council ruled that the situation in the Baltics would be taken under discussion July 16 along with the conflicts in former Yugoslavia and the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict.

In other action, the council discussed the activity of the Russian peacekeeping forces in the CIS and under the guide of the United Nations, Kull said. "Many countries criticized Russia for ignoring the mandate of the United Nations and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (and) sending, on its own initiative, peace-enforcement troops to countries of the CIS," Kull told BNS.

Bessmertnykh Chairs Council of Ex-Foreign Ministers

LD2806154093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1517 GMT 28 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Aleksandr Krylovich]

[Text] Moscow June 28 TASS—The world community is moving towards the creation of a new international security system. A number of political and economic centres are growing, chairman of the World Council of ex-Foreign Ministers, former foreign minister of the Soviet Union Aleksandr Bessmertnykh said on Monday [28 June].

In an interview with ITAR-TASS he stressed that after the first burst of extremely bombastic declaration about the world leadership, the United States has begun correcting its international policy in accordance with existing realities. The United States is one of the most powerful states of the world, but the monopolism, which is visible now in its actions, will exhaust itself very fast. Economic factors will acquire a great significance. The world will become more complex due to it, and it is very important not to let appear new invisible walls which can divide the world, the Russian diplomat said.

Aleksandr Bessmertnykh noted that the shifting of the confrontation between the East and the West, which has almost disappeared at present, towards the north-south plane, can become one of the main problems of the international community. Lately a growing indifference towards developing countries is becoming apparent. If in the past non-alligned countries received a definite advantage from the confrontation between the two military and political blocks, now they are as a matter of fact have been left at the mercy of their fate. At present this is characteristic of countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Especially complex situation is forming in the African continent where the growth of the population can lead to grave economic and political consequences and the aggravation of contradictions between the north and the south, the former Soviet foreign minister said.

According to Bessmertnykh, to prevent emerging such problems is a task of great importance. The goal of the World Council of ex-Foreign Ministers, which is a non-governmental organization, uniting dozens of experienced diplomats and politicians, is to contribute to the consolidation and the further development of positive tendencies in the world, Bessmertnykh said.

Troops Guard Armenian-Azerbaijani Pipeline

PM2906102393 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 27 Jun 93

[By A. Pisarenko; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Against the backdrop of the escalation of hostilities in Karabakh, this report about joint patrols in the northern sector of the Armenian-Azerbaijani border will probably sound highly unlikely.

However, the facts speak for themselves. These are servicemen of the Armenian and Azerbaijani Armed Forces, who, for several months now, have been living under one roof and jointly guarding the notorious pipeline which has been constantly in the news since the beginning of the year because of numerous sabotage attempts.

However, the main objective of jointly guarding the border is to ensure guaranteed peace, and although the eternal dispute as to who is right and who is wrong invariably features in conversations, the conclusion is always the same—the war will be over soon.

Fate of Naval Academy Graduates Discussed

LD2706105193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0735 GMT 27 Jun 93

[Interview with Rear Admiral Viktor Makarov, commanding officer of the Sevastopol Naval Institute, and Rear Admiral Vyacheslav Fioshkin, deputy chief of staff of the Russian Navy, by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given; from the "Military Review" program—live or recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Graduates of the Nakhimov Higher Naval Academy and the Higher Naval Engineering Academy in Sevastopol are serving, and serving with dignity, in all the fleets of the former Soviet Union. Since Ukraine took the academies under its jurisdiction last year and united them into a Naval Institute, the fate of graduates has become a little less certain. Many of those receiving their officer's shoulder boards today will take them off tomorrow and go to work in factories.

[Makarov] The graduate cadets were offered contracts by both the Russian and Ukrainian sides. Each decided this problem for himself, strictly voluntarily. The ones who decided not to sign with either Russia or the Ukraine were retired to the reserve as officers by order of the Ukrainian defense minister, and they will leave for Civvy Street, as they say, to organize their own fate.

[Correspondent] Independently?

[Makarov] Yes.

[Correspondent] How many of them are there?

[Makarov] About 90 total from both academies.

[Fioshkin] All the graduates who will serve with the Russian Navy will serve according to the specialization they pursued at the Institute.

[Correspondent] Will subsequent years be allocated to the Russian fleet?

[Fioshkin] This is practically the last graduation by Russian cadets from these academies. The academies are under the jurisdiction of Ukraine, so effectively there is no intake into these academies for the Russian Navy. How the service of graduates from these academies develops in the future depends on the development of relations between Ukraine and Russia.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 29 Jun

LD2906050893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0440 GMT 29 Jun 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow June 29 TASS—The U.S. missile strike against Baghdad and the results of last week's regular plenary session of the constitutional convention are the leading topics in today's newspapers.

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI carries an interview with Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev. In response to a question from the newspaper's correspondent as to whether the U.S. actions were a punishment for an offence against the person, Kozyrev said: "In this case it is not a question of offence and punishment but an action which the United States regards as the exercise of its legitimate right to self-defence in accordance with Article 51 of the U.N. Charter".

The Russian minister said the U.S. had notified Russia in advance about its intention and set out its reasoning in detail. "We cannot allow a manhunt for presidents, be it during their term of office or after it," Kozyrev added.

The army newspaper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (Red Star) carries an article by its news analyst Alexandr Golts who examines the U.S. action. His opinion is that "irrespective of whether Iraq is guilty or not, an act of lynching against it detracts from the prestige of the United States and from that of the world community as well".

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA points out that "the U.S.-Iraq confrontation becomes dangerous for the world."

PRAVDA, under the headline "the killing of civilians is the chief 'argument' of the U.S. Middle East policy", runs reports on various countries' reactions to the U.S. missile strike against Baghdad.

Professor Anatoliy Krasikov, dr. of science (history), in an article published in today's NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA (independent newspaper), described the draft fundamental law of the Russian Federation as a "presidential and parliamentary" one. He believes that "the main distinguishing feature of the draft constitution under discussion is the renunciation of the soviet form of state power imposed by the Bolsheviks in 1917 and its replacement by a modern, democratic form of government". "The soviets and democracy are incompatible," Krasikov maintains.

Analysing experience in reforming the state set-up of a number of western powers, the writer of the article pointed out Russian politicians' particular attention to the French version, meaning the formation of the Fifth Republic during the days of Charles de Gaulle.

"The French version is categorically opposed by those who prefer collective irresponsibility of quasi-parliamentarians uncemented by any discipline rather than personal responsibility of popularly- elected political leaders," Professor Krasikov points out.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, in an article dealing with the constitutional convention proceeding, emphasises that "one can say with a certain degree of confidence and optimism now that the work on a draft new constitution, which initially gave rise to a good deal of emotions, gradually turns into a realistic opportunity to achieve national concord in the country".

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA adheres to a different view. The newspaper observes that the constitutional convention "which was planned and launched as a mechanism for the consolidation of various forces inside Russia and as a kind of all-Russia roundtable forum, does not carry out these tasks so far".

ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, the newspaper of the Russian parliament, carries an article, headlined "differences remain, and serious ones as a matter of fact", dealing with the work of the constitutional convention.

A number of newspapers run articles devoted to Russian President Boris Yeltsin's first visit to Greece. It is reported that a treaty of friendship and cooperation between the two countries is to be signed during the visit which begins on Tuesday. Several agreements, including that on economic, scientific and technical cooperation, are also expected to be signed.

Newspapers continue to devote much attention to the situation in Azerbaijan. "It is difficult to understand a relationship being maintained between Gaydar Aliyev and Suret Guseynov, the two most popular political leaders in Azerbaijan now. They do not, seemingly, push each other away but do not meet each other with open arms either," KRASNAYA ZVEZDA observes.

PRAVDA believes that Aliyev's rating is now "rather high". The newspaper writes that "the first days of his work at the high post enabled many to give a sigh of relief: the threat of an impending civil war receded".

Further Reaction to U.S. Bombing of Iraq

Kozyrev Supports U.S. Action

LD2806185593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 28 Jun 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Today our correspondent Vladimir Beletskiy asked Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev to comment on the situation regarding the U.S. action against Iraq.

[Begin recording] [Beletskiy] Andrey Vladimirovich, do you think that the punishment for Baghdad fit Baghdad's crime?

[Kozyrev] I think that in this case it is not a question of crime and punishment; it is a question of an action that is well-founded because the United States regards the action as an implementation of their lawful right to self-defense in accordance with Article 51 of the UN Charter.

At the security council meeting, not a single voice—other that that of Iraq's own representative, naturally—was heard in denunciation of this American action, not even from those countries that traditionally adopt a pro-Iraqi position. All the permanent members of the Security Council were unanimous that such an action was well-founded.

I would like to say again that we strongly recommend that both sides proceed not along the path of exchanging military actions but adhere to peaceful ways of settling the conflict. [end recording] [passage omitted] [Video shows Kozyrev standing in a hall surrounded by people.]

Kozyrev: 'Cannot Allow' Iraq's Actions

PM2806191593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 29 Jun 93 p 1

[Pavel Shinkarenko report, incorporating interview with Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev on 28 June; place not given: "Andrey Kozyrev, Especially for ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI: 'We Cannot Tolerate the Hunting Down of Presidents'"]

[Text] The missile strike delivered by the United States against Iraq's intelligence headquarters in the night of Saturday-Sunday has provoked an ambiguous response by the international public. Britain's prime minister, the FRG chancellor, France's Foreign Ministry, and several other countries have described Washington's actions as perfectly justified. They are fully satisfied with Bill Clinton's explanation: This was done in response to an attempt by Baghdad's terrorists to assassinate former U.S. President George Bush. Supporting the United States' actions, British Premier John Major stressed in particular: We must unequivocally repulse terrorism and use all the necessary legitimate measures to prevent it.

And only Baghdad itself, together with several pro-Iraqi countries, has categorically condemned the use of cruise missiles. "Whatever reasons Washington may have to explain its actions," Sudanese Foreign Minister Husayn Sulayman Abu-Salih said, "a missile strike on Baghdad is a mistake." The minister stressed the impermissibility of displaying any form of terrorism—whether it be by individuals or by entire states. It is that much more dangerous when such acts are carried out by great powers, he declared.

And what about Russia? The Russian Federation Foreign Ministry declared its stance in a five-line statement. The gist is as follows. The Russian leadership considers the United States' response to the attempt on the life of its former president to be justified.

Yesterday, ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI's correspondent managed to meet with Andrey Kozyrev, head of the foreign policy department. When asked: "Are the United States' actions a punishment for a crime against an individual?", the minister replied:

"In this case, it is not a question of crime and punishment, but of an action which the United States perceives as the exercise of its legitimate right to self-defense in accordance with Article 51 of the UN Charter."

Elucidating his thought, Andrey Vladimirovich announced that the United States had informed Russia of its intention in good time, and had expounded its argument in detail. A UN Security Council sitting was held yesterday on Washington's initiative, and the same argument was repeated there in an expanded form. At the same time, all permanent members of the Security Council were unanimous that the action of the United States was justified. Given that this is a question of bilateral problems and the exercise of the right of one state to self-defense against another, no decision was adopted at the sitting.

"We cannot allow the hunting down of presidents, be it during their term in office or afterwards, when they resign," Andrey Kozyrev added. "At the same time, I would like to stress once again: We are expecting that the United States and Iraq will seek ways of reaching a peaceful resolution of the problems that exist between them without any further escalation of military actions."

Kozyrev Accused of 'Servility'

PM2806154593 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 29 Jun 93 p 1

[Statement by Yuriy Bondarenko, press secretary of the Russian Christian Democratic Movement: "Cause for Regret"]

[Text] Today, in the example of Iraq, we can effectively observe what the absence of a real counterbalance to the United States of America means in practice. Regrettably, the leadership of that great country has embarked on the extremely dangerous path of violating the norms of international law and imposing the diktat of its own will on the world community.

The fact that Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev made haste to express full solidarity with the aggressor is a cause for tremendous regret. In the history of Russian diplomacy it is impossible to find an example of such open servility before a foreign country. This once again confirms the lack of initiative in Russian foreign policy and the inability of the country's present leadership to conduct a policy in the interests first and foremost of the Russian people.

[Signed] Yuriy Bondarenko, press secretary of the Russian Christian Democratic Movement

Deputy Accuses Foreign Ministry of 'Subservience'

LD2806125393 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 28 Jun 93

[Excerpts] The principal international topic at the moment continues to be the reaction throughout the world to the U.S. missile strike against Iraq. [passage omitted]

I remind you that official Russian representatives regard the missile strike against Baghdad as a justified act of self-defense. The Russian leadership views the U.S. action as stemming from a state's right to individual and collective self-defense. Yuliy Vorontsov, Russia's official representative at the United Nations, expressed the hope that mutually acceptable solutions to this bilateral problem could be achieved without an escalation of hostilities.

The stance taken by the Russian Foreign Ministry, however, may not coincide with the position of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation. Here is what Vitaliy Urazhtsev, a member of the Supreme Soviet committee on international affairs, said in an exclusive interview with the Radio Rossii news service:

[Begin Urazhtsev recording] The Army Reform group of deputies, which I head, has given this matter some thought. The committee on international affairs has not met to discuss the question, but my own personal view as a deputy is as follows:

I realize that the Foreign Ministry is capable of deciding to support the American action. But after studying the issue, I regard the haste with which the Russian Foreign Ministry rushes to support any action by yesterday's likely enemy as obsequious subservience. Let's be frank: These actions may coincide with articles adopted by the United Nations, but they violate clauses on human rights. They violate the UN declaration on human and civil rights.

No matter how hard we try to screen ourselves with political interests and objectives, no matter what we might say about the need to punish an aggressor, we must always remember that it is the criminal who must be punished, if there is proof of his guilt. But this is Stalinist behavior and the repercussions affect us. The haste with which Britain, France, and Russia reacted shows that the moral and human side of this is not entirely satisfactory. [end recording]

Deputy Deplores U.S. 'Aggression'

LD2806145993 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1110 GMT 28 Jun 93

[Interview with Pavel Aleksandrovich Lysov, chairman of the subcommittee on political relations of the Supreme Soviet's Committee on Interrepublican Relations, Regional Policy and Cooperation, by correspondent Tatyana Ivanova in Moscow—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Lysov] [passage omitted] I cannot help but mention this morning's radio reports of the U.S. Air Force strike on Baghdad. Bush's visit is already past history but today it emerged that an attempt to assassinate him had been planned. This gave the U.S. Air Force the right to kill people and destroy property.

However, the interesting thing is this: Our Foreign Ministry, which has always reacted with great tact and restraint to similar things happening in Estonia, Kazakhstan, Moldova, and so on, tried not to overstep the mark. It is constantly stressing that we must observe the principles of international law. On this occasion it was one of the first to react to the Baghdad events. But, in expressing its views, it failed to denounce this aggression—and I can find no other word for it—as a violation of international law. Admittedly, I have not actually seen the Foreign Ministry statement, but I have heard press reports that the Foreign Ministry supported the American action.

I would like to stress the following point. Strange and sad as it may seem, here we have experts on international law—which is what the Foreign Ministry specialists are—taking the side of the strong. Our stance in defense of 25 million fellow countrymen—Russians and Russian speakers—living outside Russia ought also to be based on a position of strength.

It has been two years since the treaty on the principles of interstate relations with the Estonian Republic was signed. Unfortunately, not very much has been done during those years. A consular convention has been signed. A treaty on legal aid has been signed. A number of other documents have been signed—or are being prepared for signature. A treaty on pensions was to have been signed last Friday, and so on. But the border has not been sorted out. Border formalities have not been regulated. Troops are being unilaterally withdrawn—unilaterally by us, of course. At the same time there is this pressure, which is evident in these two laws which have been passed.

Of course, we don't have to do what the U.S. Air Force did. God forbid! We don't have to emulate their example. But I do think that we need to defend our position firmly by applying timely and coordinated measures of economic pressure, such as the ones which have been taken.

There's another point. Life shows that this coordinated stance is necessary. Having studied our draft resolution, the Ministry of Finance, the General Staff, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of Security, the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, the Ministry of Economics, the Customs Committee and the State Committee for Cooperation, all expressed their approval of it. [passage omitted]

'Friends of the Iraqi People' Protest Attack

PM2806152393 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 29 Jun 93 p 1

[Statement by the Society of Friends of the Iraqi People: "Outrage and Support"]

[Text] Once again, on the pretext of protecting common human values and democracy, the U.S. militarists are committing the criminal action of killing the civilian population of Iraq. Women and children die while the world community is told lies about blowing up military installations.

We express our outrage at the aggressive and misanthropic U.S. actions, and we declare our full support for the courageous people of Iraq, who are suffering but not giving in.

[Signed] The Society of Friends of the Iraqi People

U.S. Criticized

PM2806161393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Jun 93 First Edition p 3

[Vladimir Mikheyev article: "Principle of Reasonable Sufficiency Fits Badly With Retributory Strike on Baghdad"]

[Text] Nobody would dispute that sympathy is always on the side of the defender, not the attacker. In the process the victims have a primordial moral right to hit back at the offending party or—as the UN Charter states—to exercise their "right to self-defense." This was precisely the moral-legal postulate which guided the Clinton administration when it ordered the missile attack on the headquarters of the intelligence service in Baghdad.

The act of retribution has been described by Russia and other U.S. allies as "justified" and "necessary." The arguments in favor of "justification" being invoked at present consist of the evidence of the two main suspects in a conspiracy against former President Bush and material evidence—explosive of Iraqi origin. Other incriminatory evidence will be presented at a Security Council session.

What needs to be taken into account when assessing the attack on Baghdad?

First, the moral-political complexion of the Baghdad regime, which has the aggression against Kuwait on its record. According to statements by Saddam Husayn, Iraq remains a committed foe of the great power which headed the international coalition to punish the aggressor state in 1991.

Second, acts of violence or mere disrespect against U.S. citizens, wherever they happen, have always provoked an immediate response from official organs of power in Washington. The resoluteness with which the United States acted was intended, according to observers, to send a warning signal to potential terrorists: "Don't touch America."

This is the category of "good" arguments, against which are ranged what might be categorized as the "bad" arguments. There are a number of questions which the Clinton administration will have to answer:

—Why were the United Nations, in implementation of whose wishes the United States took action, and likewise the allies, only warned but not consulted?

—If no more than five top-ranking White House staffers knew about the upcoming raid (this was dictated by security considerations, of course) is there not a danger of such crucial decisions being made in secret by people who only say "yes" to their president?

—How advisable was an act of retribution which was more in the nature of a "show of strength," is bound to promote the conslidation of the regime in Baghdad, and will ultimately impact on the internal opposition, particularly the situation of the Kurds in northern Iraq?

—And finally, the central question is: How "appropriate" was Washington's reaction to the April assassination attempt that never was?

In other words, is it possible to apply the principle of "reasonable sufficiency" to the implementation of the right to self-defense? As is known, the Criminal Code defines situations when measures necessary for resisting an assailant are exceeded.

It is also possible to deduce from the context of the missile attack on Baghdad assumptions that the U.S. Administration opted for exacerbation because of the steady decline in the popularity of President Clinton, who needs to display the qualities of not only a strong head of state but also a resolute "leader of the free world." It is no accident that officials from his entourage, as THE WASHINGTON POST reports, have not disputed that this act of retribution "will strengthen his positions, at least in the short term. Like his predecessors after the victories in Grenada, Panama, and the Persian Gulf zone."

There was a very significant ring to U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher's statement: "From time to time, when we consider that our national interests require it, we will act alone, on our own, and not on a multilateral basis." But within the framework of UN activity, of course. It transpires that in the future too the allies might not be consulted but only notified. This is hardly what the U.S. allies understood by the model of a "new world order."

Even without taking the stance of Dostoyevski's idealistic precept that no noble objective is worth the tears of a single child, nevertheless our multipolar and interdependent world can hardly allow itself to grant any state a completely unlimited right to act as the supreme arbiter and ultimate repository of truth. Especially if armed force is used.

Motives for U.S. Questioned

PM2806163593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 29 Jun 93 First Edition pp 1, 7

[Article by Deputy Chief Editor Vladimir Kuznechevskiy: "Bill Clinton's Military Actions No Longer Require UN Approval"]

[Text] It seems the desire to flex his muscles somewhere far away from the United States is becoming an obession with the U.S. President.

In the early hours of Sunday, U.S. ships in the Persian Gulf carried out a missile strike on Baghdad, with 23 Tomahawk missiles being launched at Iraqi intelligence headquarters in an upscale part of the capital.

Ever since he took office Bill Clinton has been trying to get the UN Security Council to decide on bombing raids against Serbian armed forces in Bosnia (by U.S. forces, although under UN auspices). It has not happened because of resistance from the European Community. Then, while not abandoning his intentions regarding Yugoslavia (since there is someone very active along the same lines there—the German leadership), he took the first opportunity to carry out a missile and bombing raid against places where an armed Somali grouping (that of General Aidid) were based, after the latter had skirmished with "Blue Helmet" subunits. There were four strikes of this kind.

The UN Security Council approved this action, albeit reluctantly.

But now it is clear that the military urge of one of the few U.S. presidents not to have known military service—the press claims that Clinton very successfully avoided service in the Army since he was afraid of becoming involved in the Vietnam war—did not end there. This time Clinton has not even bothered to resort to UN camouflage, saying that the strike was a purely U.S. one, since in April this year Iraqi intelligence had apparently intended to make an attempt on the previous U.S. president's life during a visit to Kuwait.

The act of self-defense, as the U.S. President described it, prompted a mixed reaction among the world public. Even in the UN Security Council. At least two permanent members, China and France, supported by five nonaligned states, voiced criticism, but the Council itself decided not to adopt an official resolution on the subject.

How can you adopt a resolution when the story of the plot the U.S. President talks about is based merely on a verbal statement by an Iraqi arrested in Kuwait?

The questions crowd in. Does the U.S. President have the right to "punish" an institution (Iraqi intellgence) for the attempt, if it took place, rather than the specific individuals who hatched it? What does international law have to say on the subject? And so on.

I believe that Sunday's attack on the Iraqi capital is not the last in a series of actions of this kind by B. Clinton.

The U.S. media believe that Sunday's action was due not so much to a desire to punish criminals (who they are exactly and whether they exist at all is not clear to this day) as to a wish to show the U.S. electorate and world public opinion that all the talk about the U.S. President being spineless, indecisive, and unsure of himself is groundless.

Maybe so. But I do not think this explanation presents the whole truth. It seems to me that there are causes for B. Clinton's behavior that lie below the surface.

In a radically altered world (the bipolar model of international relations collapsed with the breakup of the USSR) the United States suddenly came to the realization that it was ceasing to play the part of unquestioned leader of the West. A rapid stratification of interests began to take place in the latter as soon as the threat of expansion by the USSR and the regimes supporting Moscow vanished. And America was no longer the clear leader in the new mosaic of the international political situation. Other countries and forces are putting the squeeze on it economically.

In these conditions the United States is faced with the question of how to preserve its influence and former role. Economically, it is becoming increasingly difficult to do so. Now the 42d U.S. President, inexperienced in international affairs, has decided he can do so by using U.S. Armed Forces in the Third World. Quite apart from the fact that this is bound to cause concern, it is in itself an inappropriate response to the challenge of the times. Moreover, it is dangerous for America itself and for the rest of the world, since it takes us away from a genuine economic and political solution of the problem that has occurred at the end of the 20th century—the fundamental transformation of the world economic and political model.

Another worrying point is the fact that the Russian Foreign Ministry was quick to approve B. Clinton's action, considering that it does not contravene the principles of collective individual defense.

Russian foreign policy has once against blatantly demonstrated that it is firmly following the U.S. foreign policy line. We do not want it to lead to Russian involvement in military adventures from which America will emerge unscathed because of its distance from the center of the military conflicts and its might, and we do not want to have to pay for our lack of discrimination. In other words, we do not want to get a hangover after someone else's party.

Strike Prompted by Hope for 'Fleeting Success'

PM2806193193 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 29 Jun 93 p 1

[Ye. Popov report: "Clinton Plays With 'Tomahawks'"]

[Text] According to experts' assessments, at the latest elections the Americans were not so much electing Clinton as dismissing George Bush. Bearing this in mind, the present all-time low rating of the chief of the Oval Office, whose activity in the presidential post is deemed satisfactory by only 36 percent of Americans, is evidently also causing him to get involved in desperate gambles—in the hope of gaining a fleeting success in the international arena.

A BBC radio correspondent was amazingly accurate in detailing one such gamble last Saturday in the morning newscast. The perspicacious, and maybe also well-informed, correspondent predicted that Bill Clinton would most probably use the incident in Iraq as yet another lesson in American education according to the "Desert Storm" model. The commentator believed that Clinton may find Iraq to be a "politically convenient target, an attack upon which will not generate objections in the United States." The reasoning behind the latter assertion was the propaganda campaign mounted in connection with the arrest of a group of terrorists who are being accused of apparently intending to assassinate former President Bush in April of this year during his visit to Kuwait. The trial of the accused has only just begun in Kuwait. Iraq is decisively rejecting as absurd the story that the threads of the conspiracy (if there really was such a conspiracy) apparently lead back to Baghdad. Nevertheless, this story is persistently being propagandized.

The BBC correspondent also noted that Clinton will also take into account the fact that a punitive action against Iraq may be carried out more or less with impunity by the U.S. Air Force, because Iraq's air defense scarcely presents a serious threat to it at present. But an analysis-forecast was completed, painfully pricking the most sensitive spot—the self-respect of Clinton, who is considered by many to be an indecisive president: "His inner voice will most likely prompt him to do nothing."

However, his "inner voice" nevertheless suggested to Clinton that a gamble could be taken. And the gamble began on the same day, late on Saturday night. It was, incidentally, several hours after the trial of those suspected of terrorism resumed in Kuwait.

Everything was already extremely clear to Clinton, however. He did not doubt in the least that the United States has the full legitimate right to punish a sovereign independent state on the mere suspicion that a terrorist conspiracy was hatched there.

But this time Clinton did not expose U.S. combat aircraft to any risk—the strikes on Baghdad were carried out by "Tomahawk" missiles from two U.S. warships, one of which was in the Persian Gulf and the other in the Red Sea.

The President-terrorist and his subordinates aimed at the headquarters of Iraqi intelligence, but as always in such cases, the casualties were primarily among the civilian inhabitants: there were deaths and injuries.

Speaking on television, Clinton stated that the missile strikes were "a response to the attempt to carry out a conspiracy with the aim of assassinating Bush."

Judging by reactions, the first among the allies to support Clinton's act of terrorism was British Prime Minister Major. Yeltsin tarried for some reason and only found himself in second place—it was only after the British premier that Kozyrev's department published a statement to the effect that, in the opinion of the Russian leadership, the actions of the Americans are "justified," since they apparently correspond to UN Article 51 on the right to "individual and collective self-defense."

Like the sagacious BBC correspondent predicted, in the Arab world (excluding the leaders of a few states which follow the lead of American policy), Clinton's gamble has generated a storm of protest. The Arab league has resolutely condemned the act of state terrorism.

It is not only the Arab world that is indignant. As it remains the only superpower in the world, the United States is assuming the role of world policeman increasingly frequently, which can only lead to a growth in anti-American sentiment throughout the world.

And something about the motives behind Clinton's act of terrorism... As we know, in 1963, with the help of the CIA, the United States overthrew and killed 'Abd-al-Karim Qasem, the Iraqi leader, prime minister, and commander in chief of the Iraqi Republic Armed Forces, only because he transferred the "Iraq Petroleum Company" to public ownership. If you follow the logic of the chief of the Oval Office, then even 30 years ago, the Iraqi Armed Forces had the justification—in accordance with the same UN Article 51—to bomb the White House and the Pentagon?!.. I wonder how Major and Yeltsin would assess that act?

Reaction Tailored To Avoid Summit Complications

PM2906075393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Jun 93 First Edition pp 1,3

[Maksim Yusin report: "Russia and West Europe Support U.S. Actions. Most Arab Countries, Iran, and China Condemn It"]

[Excerpt] On the morning of 27 June, a few hours after the U.S. missile strike against Baghdad, Moscow wholly supported the U.S. Administration's actions.

First, the Foreign Ministry issued a brief statement, and then, clarifying the Kremlin's position, Yuliy Vorontsov, Russia's permanent representative at the United Nations, said at the Security Council session in New York that "in the Russian leadership's opinion, the U.S. action was justified since it stemmed from a state's right of self-defense under Article 51 of the UN Charter."

Russia's reaction came as a surprise to many. This January, when the Americans carried out a series of strikes against Iraqi military targets in the last days of George Bush's presidency, Moscow's reaction was far more restrained. The Russian Foreign Ministry criticized the United States at the time for acting alone and for killing civilians.

This time, despite a certain cooling between Moscow and Washington in recent weeks, the support was unreserved. Judging by everything, President Yeltsin has decided not to complicate the already difficult relationship with the United States on the eve of the Tokyo summit with Bill Clinton. [passage omitted]

Raid Seen Unlikely To Achieve Objectives

PM2906080793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Jun 93 First Edition p 1

[Aleksandr Shalnev report: "U.S. Missile Strike Against Baghdad Creates New Problems Without Solving Old Ones"]

[Excerpts] Washington—Sunday's missile strike against Baghdad by the United States in revenge for the attempt on the life of former President George Bush continues to be the number one story in the mass media.

Announcing the missile attack, the main target of which was the Iraqi intelligence headquarters, President William Clinton stated in a televised address to the country: "The Iraqi leadership should now know that we will fight terrorism, that we will prevent aggression, and that we will protect our people."

The U.S. Government assessed the failed assassination attempt against George Bush, which was to have taken place during the former president's visit to Kuwait in mid-April, as a "crime which gives us the right of self-defense." As Pentagon chief Les Aspin put it, "we have this right under Article 51 of the UN Charter. And we decided to exercise it." [passage omitted]

The order for the missile strike, in which 23 Tomahawk cruise missiles launched from two U.S. ships in the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf were used, was given by President Clinton on Friday, soon after he had familiarized himself with a detailed report from the CIA and FBI which, as the White House put it, contained irrefutable evidence of Iraq's complicity in the assassination attempt against Bush. But the strike was only carried out early Sunday morning Baghdad time. Washington did not want the missiles to hit Baghdad on the Muslim holy day and, second, wanted to avoid unnecessary casualties—those who planned the operation had worked out that not very many people would be present at Iraqi intelligence headquarters on Saturday night and Sunday morning. [passage omitted]

According to press estimates, each of the 23 missiles costs $1.1 million and each is equipped with a warhead of up to half a tonne. On Sunday, General Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs, announced that seven missiles had missed the target. Three had hit residential areas. Both the White House and the Pentagon rated the operation an "obvious success."

But some specialists have been expressing doubt about the military expediency of the operation, considering it to have been purely symbolic and for propaganda value. These specialists are noting that the Iraqi intelligence service is dispersed throughout many buildings, including underground premises, not only in Baghdad but in other parts of the country as well. Moreover, the Iraqi intelligence service is not so well-equipped technically—with computers, satellites, and so forth—for a strike, however effective, against its headquarters to put it out of action. Iraqi intelligence's main "arsenal" is its people. The destruction of the Baghdad headquarters will probably not have the result that Washington had hoped for.

Legal Aide: Retaliation Required UN Backing

PM2906080993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Jun 93 First Edition p 3

[Boris Vinogradov report: "Security Council Had Not Imposed Sanctions"]

[Text] The fight against international terrorism is undoubtedly legitimate and an important avenue in the policy of keeping the peace and safeguarding security. But, specialists claim, international law exclusively envisages in the fight against terrorism a range of measures that is permitted and agreed at UN level.

Here is how a Russian professor—Doctor of Juridical Sciences I.V. Lukashuk, a scientific staffer at the State and Law Institute—assesses the events of Saturday night/Sunday morning in Iraq.

"The plot against G. Bush's security was undoubtedly, in itself, an act of state terrorism. Such a crime is specially covered by the universal 1973 convention on the prevention and punishment of crimes against individuals enjoying international protection. Under this convention, people enjoying diplomatic protection include, in particular, heads of state or any state representative. The convention also covers crimes such as the premeditated murder of people under international protection or an attack on them. The culprits should face criminal charges under the laws of the state where the crime occurs. In this instance this means Kuwait, on whose territory the attack on Bush was to have taken place.

"The 1973 convention does not link the commission of such crimes with a threat to peace and international security. The document states that such actions pose a 'serious threat to the maintenance of normal international relations, which are needed for cooperation between states.'

"The plot against the former U.S. President does not come under the UN General Assembly's definition of aggression, and measures to influence Iraq can only be taken on the basis of a Security Council resolution."

'Yes-Man' Backing Deplored

PM2906091393 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Jun 93 p 3

["Our Commentary" by Sergey Filatov: "Fist Law Instead of International Law"]

[Text] Even people who feel no sympathy for Saddam Husayn's regime are shocked by the missile attack on Baghdad. Against the backdrop of television pictures showing the corpses of civilians being dragged out from beneath the debris of homes that collapsed following a direct hit by the U.S. cruise missiles the happy face of Bill Clinton, who opposed the Vietnam war, and his words—"I am satisfied with what happened"—seem monstrous!

What is the purpose of this barbaric act? On U.S. lips allusions that the Iraqi special services were preparing to assassinate U.S. President G. Bush during his trip to Kuwait and that it was this Iraqi intelligence headquarters that came under missile attack sound like a mockery of the Americans themselves. Have they forgotten that they prepared a series of attempts on Fidel Castro's life? And does no one remember after so long the U.S. special services' removal of Iranian leader Mossadeq in the early fifties? According to U.S logic, in the wake of this the bombing of Washington is simply imperative and would be legal. And perhaps if Olaf Palme's killers were found, one should "attack" the country of which they are citizens.

The Iraqi leadership has described the vile attack on Baghdad as "cowardly aggression." That is not far from the truth—powerful weapons were used during the night of Satrurday-Sunday as part of an operation that can be ranked as not a military, but a purely punitive venture. A serious precedent has been set whereby army forces have been enlisted in secret operations. You can imagine what the consequences of that will be.

Well, henceforth countries suspected of terrorism—and you can cook up something like that against anyone in the world—will be bombing targets. Judging by a report flying around New York, the following targets have already been decided—Libya and Sudan. The strands of a conspiracy to prepare explosions at UN headquarters and in the city itself, recently uncovered by FBI agents, supposedly lead back to these countries.

What of international law, what of criminal law? Areas of Baghdad quarters are being destroyed without trial, without public evidence of guilt. Although specific officials should, by all legal canons, bear responsibility for their involvement in the attempt on G. Bush.

What we find most saddening is the fact that the Russian leadership, which is allegedly building a "rule-of-law state," has vindicated the U.S. brigandage. Moreover, it justified its support by talking about a "state's right to individual and collective self-defense in accordance with Article 51 of the UN Charter." Staggering cynicism! No one in Moscow seems to be thinking about the fact that its stance is simply freeing Washington's hands to conduct any armed operations in any part of the world.

Our playing the yes-man to the Americans not only makes Moscow's incumbent leaders party to the attack. It ultimately brings about a situation where the cowboy cult of force and the military fist—something of which the United States has accused Saddam Husayn himself!—once again prevails in the world. The U.S. "dummy runs" in the Western Hemisphere—Panama, Grenada, and Cuba—have come to an end. Washington considers itself entitled to abandon the cover of the UN flag and tell other countries in the language of the gun that it is necessary to "behave in a civilized manner within the community of nations" (a quote from Clinton's statement about the attack on Baghdad).

Is there no one who really wants to see this?!

Writer Questions Russian Approval

MK2906084493 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 29 Jun 93 p 1

[Mikhail Karpov commentary under "Persian Gulf" column: "Clinton Starts and... Wins Support"]

[Text] Strikes against Iraq seem to have become just as commonplace as morning coffee. Otherwise it is hard to explain the support and approval that these U.S. actions are finding in the world. As for the world, forget it. After all, can it order Russia around? But what was amazing in this case was the swiftness with which the diplomats united in ecstasy with their colleagues from other countries of the commonwealth of nations. It would appear that there are no other methods to influence those unamenable to them. They did not like the "procrastination" ["volynki"] in Berlin, the "counterrevolutionary coup" in Budapest, the "spring" in Prague, and so forth—and they used armed force, and that was it! As for the innocent protesters in the streets, what do they matter?

There is no question of justifying the Saddam Husayn regime. Nonetheless, one does have some questions. How, for instance, would the United States have reacted to Russia's actions with respect to, let us say, Estonia?

Even if the steps by its leadership toward the Russian-speaking population were the grossest violation of human rights. Would they remember any other article then except Article 51 of the UN Charter? Or maybe the Declaration of Human Rights? As for Iraq, its possible involvement in merely preparing a terrorist act, even if it was against the number one person in the state, has yet to be proven.

We shall not go into what prompted Clinton to issue the order—the laurels of his predecessor, the pressure of the military-industrial complex, the mistrust in the "special forces" from Fort Bragg after a failed attempt to release U.S. hostages in Tehran, the protection of their own oil plantations, or something else. But such a hasty acceptance by Russia of yet another obviously demonstrative move cannot but cause concern. Even if it is not a partner but an ally that is involved. Partnership is okay, but who could become the next target for the cruise missiles?

And perhaps another thing. All that has happened clearly reeks of some sort of Freudianism. From the superman and inferiority complex to misspellings and slips in speaking. After the previous bombing of Iraq, Ostankino filed a report of a "missile nuclear" strike. No one was surprised and no one lost any posts. Yesterday morning the same channel confined itself to a report of a "missile nuc..." [as published] strike. As a production meeting at the editorial office showed, many suffer from such slips. Including the author. But again, good luck to him. The thing that really matters is that the diplomats of a superpower make no "slips."

'Lynching' Deplored

PM2906100593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Jun 93 p 3

[Aleksandr Golts "Observer's Opinion" article under the general headline: "U.S. Attack on Baghdad: Fair Retribution or Lynch Law?"]

[Text] The United States has attacked Baghdad. Twenty cruise missiles launched from U.S. ships hit the headquarters of the Iraqi intelligence service (which was planned), and also adjacent blocks (which was apparently not planned). According to Washington's version of events, expounded at an emergency sitting of the UN Security Council, this was the U.S. response to the Iraqi endeavors to organize an attempt on the life of ex-President Bush when he was visiting Kuwait in April. Consequently, the American representative maintained, the United States was exercising its right to self-defense.

Both the U.S. allies and Russia agreed with this explanation at official level. However, the UN Security Council declined to approve the American action post facto. This was not just because of a very restrained reaction from China and a number of Arab states. It is extremely doubtful whether Article 51 of the UN Charter, which Washington cites, can serve as justification for such actions. After all, the Kuwait trial of those alleged to be the Iraqi terrorists is not even over yet. And the evidence which the U.S. special services have obtained from these people, together with Iraqi-produced explosives, scarcely provide conclusive proof.

In actual fact, American justice has as much proof against those who are being accused of blowing up the trade center in New York. Yet no one thought of sending the accused to the electric chair on the day of their arrest. In a civilized society accusations, no matter how obvious they may be, must be proven in court. Where the accused has the right of defense. So why are the traditions of the lynch law being revived in relations between states?

However, let us suppose that Iraq's guilt is proven. The justification for a military operation on such a scale is still doubtful. This operation would have been justified if Washington had been forced to operate in emergency circumstances, where the aggressor was threatening its national interests. However, it all happened two months after the imminent attempt on Bush was made known. There should have been enough time for making public accusations against Iraq and for the entire world community to adopt decisions. This was not done.

The question also arises of the purposes of the action. Its initiators claim that this is a clear signal to Baghdad, which is pursuing a terrorist policy. Yet it is obvious, in fact, that such actions are more likely to strengthen the Husayn regime. Because in a situation in which U.S. cruise missiles kill civilians it is simple for the regime to create a besieged-fortress atmosphere in the country. And thus nip in the bud any thought of the Iraqi leadership's responsibility for what is happening. It is also being said that this is a signal to the intelligence services of other states (Iran and Sudan are being named in this connection), which supposedly participated in the preparation of terrorist acts in the United States. But these accusations too should be proved.

So what remains in the end? You can only agree with those who believe that, in attacking Baghdad, the administration primarily pursed domestic political aims. For the past two months President Clinton has been unsuccessfully trying to clamber out of a maelstrom of problems great and small, ranging from the attempt to reform the tax system to the effort to allow homosexuals to serve in the Army. These are problems in which his administration is sinking in. The prestige of the President, who is being called inconsistent and indecisive, is, as the U.S. press writes "in a state of free-fall." Things look no better in the international arena. The United States is clearly losing its position as world leader. Washington has proven unable to propose an option of its own for settling the Yugoslav crisis. There is every reason to suppose that the leaders of the major industrial countries, who will be meeting Tokyo in two weeks' time, are by no means inclined to follow the pointing finger of Washington in the sphere of economic relations either.

And now the raid that has been carried out is supposed to show both the Americans and the whole world the

President's ability to act resolutely. THE WASHINGTON POST, in particular, cites a high-ranking administration representative as stating: "We are showing that Clinton can handle a task." It must be added that the President, who was reproached with aspiring to undertake only joint actions in the international arena, has demonstrated his readiness to operate in full accordance with the American tradition—alone.

The future will show how successful Clinton has been in reconstructing his image. At the moment, judging by opinion poll figures, the majority of Americans by no means share the official delight with which Washington's politicians and generals greeted the military operation. Something else is also clear. Once again the world has seen that, just as before, one state is assuming the functions of prosecutor, judge, and executioner all at once. All the others are left only with the role of onlookers. But what if all the other countries started behaving in the same way? Difficult mutual relations between individual states give every one of them wide possibilities for accusing others of aggression. But if the right of the strong continues to prevail in the world, what is the value of all this endless talk about a civilized order which has emerged in the world?

In a word, regardless of whether Iraq is guilty or not, its lynching injures U.S. prestige. And indeed the prestige of the world community too.

Solton Commentary Questions Action

LD2806131893 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 28 Jun 93

[Announcer-read Yuriy Solton commentary]

[Excerpts] The United States' strike on Baghdad and the right to self defense is the topic of our commentary by Yuriy Solton.

The world response to the U.S. military operation is mixed. [passage omitted] The United States refers to Article 51 of the United Nations Charter which says that—I quote—nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self defense if an armed attack occurs against a member of the United Nations. Washington argues that preparations by Iraqi secret services for an attempt on the life against George Bush were tantamount to an armed attack against the United States and declared that in the future it would proportionally respond to manifestations of international terrorism. However, the question arises who will be setting such proportions? Doesn't the United States interpret Article 51 of the UN Charter too loosely?

The United States has delivered a military strike today and another country may want to do the same tomorrow with reference to the same article—take any party to the Arab-Israeli conflict. The League of Arab States says it is seriously worried over the fact that the use of force without appropriate resolutions by the United Nations Security Council is a dangerous precedent running counter to international law. Many European politicians share this view. Judging by opinion polls most Americans too have given the cold shoulder to the Administration's decision to attack the Intelligence Center in Baghdad. People in Russia too have a mixed feeling about the United States' attack and have been expressing condolences to the relatives of those who died in the attack.

True, terrorism and agencies involved in that kind of activity must be rebuffed but extreme measures, including military force, must be used with great caution. Russia's representative in the United Nations Security Council has voiced the hope that mutually acceptable solutions of problems in U.S.-Iraqi relations will be achieved without the escalation of military action. Apparently the UN Security Council, which ended its session on Sunday without producing any definite decision, will make it quite clear where it stands on the issue because the current situation is fraught with growing tension in the Persian Gulf area.

Clinton Tells Yeltsin To Expect Extensive G-7 Aid Package

LD2906081193 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0700 GMT 29 Jun 93

[Text] In a telephone talk on Monday [28 June] with President Boris Yeltsin, President Bill Clinton of the United States said he expected the forthcoming Tokyo summit of the leaders of the seven industrialized nations, scheduled for 7th-9th July, to approve a considerable aid package for Russia's reforms. During the 30-minute talk the U.S. President informed Boris Yeltsin of G-7 efforts to work out a program of support for the process of democratic reforms and the development of free markets in Russia.

Foreign Ministry Issues Talk

LD2906082393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0800 GMT 29 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow, 29 Jun (ITAR-TASS)—The Foreign Ministry of the Russian Federation today issued the following statement:

On the evening of 28 June Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin and U.S. President Bill Clinton held a telephone conversation. On the eve of the Tokyo meeting of the leaders of the G-7 countries and the Russian Federation, the two men discussed questions related to its preparation and content and Russian-U.S. relations in light of the talks which are planned between the Russian and U.S. Presidents in the Japanese capital.

Russia expects, Boris Yeltsin said in particular, that decisions will be made at the Tokyo summit which will make it possible to render large-scale and effective support, in the amounts outlined, for Russia's reforms.

U.S. Demands on Missile Technology Halt Chernomyrdin Visit

PM2806110593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jun 93 p 3

[Vladislav Drobkov commentary under "Correspondents Comment" rubric: "Why the Visit Was Postponed"]

[Text] Washington—The Russian prime minister will not spend this weekend in the United States as planned. The predictions of Vice Premier A. Shokhin, who was here the other day, and many other figures that Russia and the United States would hold important bilateral summit talks on the eve of the next scheduled meeting of the G-7 in Tokyo have not been realized. Documents prepared for the premier's visit—which was planned some time ago and designed to boost cooperation between the two countries in spheres such as power engineering and space exploration—will not be signed.

Official circles in Washington state that both sides—the U.S. and the Russian—decided to "postpone the visit" until after the Tokyo visit, so as to enable "the agenda to be better prepared."

Your correspondent has learned that the true reason for the cancellation of a visit that had already been virtually agreed was the unprecedented pressure of the U.S. Administration on Russian representatives with the aim of obtaining from Russia new concessions in the sphere of its missile technology trade. In addition to ultimatum-type demands to tear up the agreement signed with India on the sale of missile technology, Washington functionaries this time tried to force Russia to acquiesce to the de facto subordination of the entire activity of its aerodynamics complex to U.S. demands and restrictions.

At the same time the Americans gave no guarantees that Russian technology could be used profitably for us in U.S. space research, although the present administration had made repeated hints to this effect. The impression arises that the United States is committed not only to eliminating a long-standing rival on the world aerodynamics market—it also intend to gain control over the development of this sector of industry within the CIS.

Essentially Washington is seeking the right to decide with whom Russia should trade in technology and know-how. What equipment it should sell to whom, and on what conditions. Whose "blessing" it should receive for such deals. "The Americans are frankly driving us into a corner," one Russian diplomat told me.

Moreover, in the event of Russia's not agreeing to its truly crushing terms, the United States is threatening to introduce sanctions against Russia. This could prevent the fulfillment of contracts already signed and in preparation for the use of Russian missile technology in the launch of a series of Western communications satellites. The widely publicized possibilities of Russia's participation in the creation of the U.S. "Freedom" orbital space station are also under threat.

At the same time many high-ranking representatives of the administration, including Treasury Secretary L. Bentsen, are now stating that it will hardly be possible to keep in full such Western promises to Russia as the allocation of $4 billion to assist the privatization process.

In other words, in relations with Russia the U.S. Administration is passing from the short-lived period of the "carrot" to the stern reality of the "stick." After the aid and collaboration promises, which have in many respects remained on paper, the United States is advancing such stringent demands on Russia for concessions and submissiveness that even the state figures and diplomats preparing Prime Minister V. Chernomyrdin's visit did not consider it possible to acquiesce to them.

The premier's visit was postponed.

Maybe this is for the better?

Let us hope that at the "Boris and Bill" meeting in Tokyo Russian space interests will not be sacrificed to yet another parade of the extremely unorthodox "friendship of the two presidents." A friendship of which the only result so far is the reluctantly fulfilled promises for "aid and support," in exchange for which ever more concessions are demanded of Russia.

U.S. Experts Advise Against Resuming Nuclear Tests

PM2806113493 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 26 Jun 93 First Edition p 7

[ITAR-TASS report under the rubric "Security": "United States Could Let Out the 'Nuclear' Jinni. American Experts Come Out Against Resumption of Atom Tests"]

[Text] Bill Clinton's administration should maintain the present moratorium on U.S. underground nuclear tests. That was the conclusion reached by a group of prominent U.S. experts, ITAR-TASS reports.

In my view, President Clinton is "facing a very important decision on whether to resume these tests at a time when no one in the world is carrying out nuclear tests," Spurgeon Keeny, former deputy director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, stated.

Keeny recalled that in September 1992 the U.S. Congress approved legislation binding the United States to stop nuclear tests in 1996 if other states also abandon such tests by that date. Congress also imposed a moratorium on nuclear tests in the United States until 1 July this year. However, it authorized the President to resume limited nuclear tests in order to improve the safety of warheads if that becomes necessary, the expert noted.

Another prominent specialist, Professor Frank von Hippel of Princeton university, believes that American tests "will call forth a wave of nuclear tests throughout the world and make control of the proliferation of nuclear weapons considerably more difficult." "If America starts tests now," the expert said, "Britain will reserve the right to carry out a large number of nuclear tests in future; and France will undoubtedly start tests too."

According to Leonard [not further identified], the leadership of Kazakhstan "will be extremely disappointed if the United States decides to resume tests, since this could lead to tests by Russia and China." Ukraine, on the other hand, he believes, will see Washington's resumption of nuclaer tests as a signal that "no one in the world is thinking seriously of eliminating nuclear weapons." If the existing ban on nuclear tests is maintained, Leonard said in conclusion, in a year or two it will be possible to achieve a comprehensive moratorium on tests which will be signed also by countries like India and Pakistan.

Impact of Shift in U.S. Ukraine Policy Eyed

PM2806144393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Jun 93 First Edition p 7

[Stanislav Kondrashov article: "Unexpected Nuclear Triangle"]

[Text] As before, Washington is striving for nuclear-free status for Ukraine, but it would seem to be changing the route for achieving this aim, and what is more in such a way as to entice Kiev and prompt—initially, at any rate—a negative reaction in Moscow and the Russian Defense Ministry.

There are legal grounds for the discontent insofar as, by changing the route, Washington is deviating from former agreements signed by Kiev. Under these agreements, nuclear weapons stationed on Ukrainian territory are subject to dispatch to Russia for the purposes of their destruction in line with the START I Treaty.

According to Washington's new thinking, expounded in Kiev at the beginning of June by U.S. Defense Secretary Les Aspin, the 2,000 nuclear weapons removed from missiles and strategic bombers should be "retained" in Ukraine—under the control of Moscow and Kiev with the good offices of the Americans—before traveling the final road to Russia to be dismantled. The procedure will take as long as it takes Russia and Ukraine to come to an agreement on sharing the profits under the planned sale in the United States of fissionable materials from each weapon.

Together with the appearance of the Clinton administration's new emphasis on security guarantees for Ukraine and promises to compensate the latter more liberally for the nuclear weapons eliminated, this kind of control system should pacify and satisfy the Ukrainians to some degree, which is confirmed by Kiev's official approval of it.

On the other hand, for those in Kiev who still foster nuclear ambitions despite the commitments made, the American proposal provides a toehold for further delays in moving toward nuclear-free status. As we know, appetite comes with eating, and concessions may encourage new demands—indeed, they are already being put forward at a high level. By declaring in the Ukrainian parliament that 46 SS-24 intercontinental missiles should be retained for a while, Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma pleased those radicals who would like to hold on to a nuclear bludgeon against Russia's imperial instincts just in case, and confused the entire diplomatic world.

Implement this, and Ukraine will become a nuclear power mightier than Britain, France, and China, rocking the already shaky procedure for nuclear nonproliferation, and setting a bad example for, say, Kazakhstan. Russia does not need such confusion. Do the Americans? No. In principle, America's approach to the fate of the USSR's nuclear legacy has not altered: Russia emerges in the capacity of the sole beneficiary because a monopoly of that sort is better able to guarantee control over the legacy and its radical reduction in line with the START I and START II treaties.

But... The last 18 months have shown that from the very beginning the agreed question of the legacy has not been resolved in practice and can no longer be resolved within the proposed confines of the CIS, where all agreements on the unified command of joint strategic forces have proved to be nothing but hot air, to which Marshal Shaposhnikov testified personally recently on leaving his ceremonial post of commander in chief which was promptly abolished.

So, there is nothing to reproach America for. It edged its way in as the need required, forming a new and distinctive nuclear triangle, as neither Ukraine nor Russia could resolve effectively the problem of the Soviet nuclear legacy between themselves, and time waits for nobody.

The U.S. changing role is revealed not only in Les Aspin's "technical" idea on the stages of the route for taking nuclear warheads from Ukraine to Russia. And the matter centers not only on the nuclear triangle (let's hope it is temporary). The Clinton administration intends to cultivate diverse links with Ukraine far more actively than the Bush administration so as to ensure that all of America's interests are not in the one basket of American-Russian relations. The currents of opinion floating around in the Washington air were expounded by THE NEW YORK TIMES when it expressed the view that for the United States to encourage Ukraine's renunciation of nuclear weapons there is a need for an "all-embracing political strategy" not locked solely into nuclear matters.

This strategy should provide first and foremost for "the problems of Ukraine's security to be addressed," and second for "a broadening of U.S. relations with Ukraine based on assistance in conducting reform." The latter should help to shift "the emphasis of Ukrainian debates." These, in the newspaper's view, stray dangerously toward the question of whether Ukraine should or should not be a nuclear power, and in an atmosphere of heightened passions this question has become something of a touchstone for patriotism, stifling the voice of common sense...

Nature abhors a vacuum. The United States cannot but fill the vacuum of uncertainty and the lack of clear prospects which has emerged in relations between Ukraine and Russia. An unexpected triangle is emerging where there has been no success in finding places for systematic and constructive dialogue. At the same time, the Americans will only take the interests of Russia or Ukraine into account to a degree commensurate with the extent to which they coincide with American interests. In the nuclear problem, this coincidence of interests is evident, and given a rational view of things the Aspin plan, expediently supported by Moscow, may accelerate Ukraine's movement toward nuclear-free status, blocking the moves of opponents of this. On a broader plain, Washington, without waiting to be "invited," has promoted itself of its own accord to the position of arbiter between the two largest states to have emerged in place of the Soviet Union.

As we know, a few days ago yet another effort at such dialogue was undertaken. But Boris Yeltsin and Leonid Kravchuk, resorting to a favored method, sought to resolve too much at a single Zavidovo "sitting"—the problems with the Russian power workers against the background of the Ukrainian miners' strike, the problems with the controversy owing to the Black Sea Fleet, and the problems with nuclear weapons. The results of previous meetings, alas, do not give great cause for optimism. What was said on the question addressed by us was brief and certain, but too general: "The Russian Federation president has confirmed Russia's readiness, once Ukraine has ratified the START I Treaty and acceded to the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons, to offer Ukraine security guarantees which will come into force after the ratification of these documents by the Ukrainian parliament."

Of course, this formulation, which is in itself realistic, needs to be deciphered in more detail, and by no means does it exempt Moscow from the tasks which Washington has already undertaken in its own way—the tasks of elaborating an "all-embracing political strategy" for relations with Ukraine.

Kozyrev on Positive, Negative Factors in Estonia

LD2806162193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1609 GMT 28 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Vladimir Suprun and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow June 28 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said Russia is closely watching both positive and disconcerting factors in Tallinn's Russian policy and praised the "encouraging signals" in the policy of some Estonian leaders.

Kozyrev pointed in particular to the fact that Estonian President Lennart Meri refused to sign the law on foreigners, which caused a sharp response on the part of the Russian leaders who condemned it as a codification of human rights violations.

Kozyrev also spoke about an agreement on pension provisions signed a few days ago as meeting the interests of both the Russian speaking and all other inhabitants of Estonia. "I hope that these measures will serve the cause of rectifying the situation," Kozyrev said.

Relations between Estonia and Russia, as well as the fate of Estonia itself, are fully in the hands of the Tallinn leadership. "if the situation improves further, not only economic sanctions will be lifted, but all conditions will be created for a full-scale partnership, which is "our undoubted choice," the Russian minister said.

However, if Estonia persists in its policy of "apartheid and ethnic purges in velvet gloves," sanctions against Tallinn will be unavoidable, for instance as regards the deliveries of oil, gas, etc, Kozyrev warned.

Russians in Estonia Pushed Toward Self-Determination

LD2906101993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0840 GMT 29 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow, 29 Jun—"The postponement of bringing into force the Estonian law on foreigners does not mean a rejection of this discriminatory act," Sergey Stankevich, the adviser to the Russian president, stated in an interview to an ITAR-TASS correspondent. He added that the law, which was adopted by the Estonian parliament and which prevents 600,000 Russian-speaking people from becoming full-fledged citizens, may be signed by the country's president "if not today, then tomorrow." "The Estonian president did not veto this law; he only sent it for expert analysis to the Security Council. Moreover, on more than one occasion, Mr. Lennart Meri made statements justifying the adoption of the law on foreigners," the Russian president's adviser stressed.

According to Sergey Stankevich, the law on foreigners would create the conditions in Estonia for the formation of a state of a single ethnic group or single community. In these conditions, he believes, 500,000 members of the Russian-speaking population have the right to request Russian citizenship. Ethnic Russians wishing to remain loyal members of Estonian society will probably time and again have to "suspend goodwill, appealing for support from the world community." If this measure is of no avail, the discriminatory measues of the Estonian authorities will impel Russian-speaking citizens toward self-determination, he noted.

In response to a question from the ITAR-TASS correspondent asking whether the Russians intended to hold a plebiscite in Narva as part of the measures toward self-determination, the Russian presidential adviser said that "Narva is the first test of strength." After that, he believes, "ethnic Russians in Estonia will have the right to seek national-territorial autonomy or territorial self-determination, since they will not be able to count upon the good or ill will of the Estonian authorities."

Yeltsin Defends Ethnic Russians in Message to Latvia

LD2806174993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1726 GMT 28 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow June 28 ITAR-TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin today sent a message to the Latvian Human Rights and International Humanitarian Cooperation Committee. The message reads as follows:

"I share the concern, expressed by 98 thousand inhabitants of Latvia who signed the appeal, over facts of limiting vitally important rights and freedoms of a considerable part of the population of the Latvian Republic, above all the right to choose one's domicile and the right to citizenship of the country where one was born and/or lives.

"Russia has repeatedly raised—at bilateral talks of state delegations and at authoritative international fora and human rights organisations—the question about infringements on the rights of Russian-speaking people in the Baltic countries, including Latvia. Representatives of your committee noted at a press conference in Moscow that there is evidence of the Russian Federation's official policy influencing the position of the Latvian side and restraining the extremist plans of Latvian national radicals aimed at 'ousting' non-citizens from Latvia."

The Russian president assured the Latvian committee that "the protection of legitimate rights and interests of Russians in Latvia, just as in other countries, will remain Russia's political priority."

Ukraine Arms Pact 'Victory for Common Sense'

PM2906101193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Jun 93 First Edition pp 1-2

[Viktor Litovkin report: "Kiev and Moscow Agree on Fate of Nuclear Weapons Deployed in Ukraine"]

[Text] It is no exaggeration to call the agreement to be signed by Ukrainian and Russian Prime Ministers Leonid Kuchma and Viktor Chernomyrdin sensational. As this newspaper was going to press there were only hours to go before the formal signing, according to our information. But the leaders of the two states' governments have already agreed to sum up the results of the many months of disputes and political intrigues on the question of the nuclear weapons deployed on Ukrainian territory.

The sides have agreed that, under the previously established centralized operations system, Russia and its military specialists will take charge of and, together with Ukrainian specialists, once again comprehensively service the strategic missile warheads and nose sections [golovnyye bloki] of cruise missiles located at two nuclear technical bases in Ukraine. Subsequently these units will be taken to central holding facilities and dismantled.

Moreover, manufacturers' and warranty supervision [avtorskiy i garantiynyy nadzor] by Ukrainian and Russian specialists, manufacturing plants, and general designers of the strategic missile complexes in Pervomaysk, Nikolayev Oblast, and Khmelnitskiy will be resumed. All work there will be carried out by the best-trained officers from the Russian Strategic Rocket Forces. Ukraine will remove all the customs and political barriers to this, and both states will begin to finance this process on a shared basis.

The sides also agreed that five strategic missile regiments whose combat systems have come to the end of their normal and extended service lives, will be stood down and broken up in Ukraine within two years (1994 and 1995). A separate agreement is being drawn up on this.

Major Ukrainian plants in Kirovograd, Kharkov, and Dnepropetrovsk, which have been standing idle through a lack of state orders and a lack of funding, will once again be involved in servicing missile systems. Russian enterprises—including Moscow's Khrunichev Plant—will also be involved in this work.

Ukraine will be compensated for the strategic and cruise missile nuclear warheads in the shape of fuel for its nuclear power stations. It will also get its share of the hard-currency revenue for the nuclear-warhead uranium components processed at Russian plants and sold abroad. The main thing is that the concerns of specialists and the public about the nuclear safety of strategic missile systems and the nuclear warheads deployed in Ukraine which have gone without the necessary technical servicing for more than 10 months will be allayed. The threat of a second, "military" Chernobyl will have been removed.

But the importance of the event due to take place Monday should not be restricted solely to a narrowly technical or economic analysis. Its meaning, in my view, runs far deeper.

We cannot fail to note that the agreement the two governments are concluding removes from the agenda the plan which U.S. Defense Secretary Les Aspin proposed a couple of weeks ago in Kiev—that the nuclear warheads of missiles deployed in Ukraine be placed under joint international control with U.S. participation, thereby comprehensively guaranteeing their safety. Moscow assessed this option as a thinly disguised attempt by America to gain official access to Russian nuclear secrets. And the fact that Kiev shared the Moscow military's concerns in this situation makes us confident that the contradictions between the neighboring countries' two power departments are not as irreconcilable as they sometimes seem.

There is one other fact which should not be overlooked in any analysis of this problem. The agreement on the fate of the nuclear weapons in Ukraine is being signed following the recent meeting in Zavidovo of the two countries' presidents—Leonid Kravchuk and Boris Yeltsin. This meeting was devoted to the problems of the Black Sea Fleet, where Russia pledged to guarantee Ukraine's safety and territorial integrity, and its partner in the talks pledged to ratify the START I Treaty within the very near future, to promote the fulfillment of the START II Treaty conditions, and not to violate the state's nonnuclear status. The signing of this new document by Kuchma and Chernomyrdin, despite the complex attitude of the Kiev parliament and the national radicals to the problem, is a very bold and politically well-judged [vyverennyy] step that will allow Ukraine to escape the grip of the economic crisis more quickly and to retain the respect and confidence of the international community, which had been concerned about the state's ambiguous stance on the Nonproliferation Treaty.

At the same time, the example of Ukraine provides a very specific signal for Kazakhstan, which also as yet has no unambiguous or consistent position with regard to strategic missile systems deployed on its territory, and has failed to reach a final decision on the fate of nuclear weapons.

And, finally, one last point. When I asked leading Moscow experts whether the signing of the agreement could be seen as a victory for Russia in the protracted dispute about the fate of nuclear weapons in Ukraine, they resolutely rejected this assertion.

The new agreement, I was told, gives neither side an advantage. It is just the first step toward solving the really serious and vexed problems of the former Union's nuclear legacy. But it can quite rightly be seen as a victory for common sense and for state wisdom over unhealthy nuclear ambitions, political intrigues, and amateurish overconfidence. The fight against these sentiments will still be long and hard in both states' parliaments. Although the upcoming signing is an optimistic step.

Chernomyrdin Attends Meeting on Russian, Ukrainian Oblasts

LD2806095493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0840 GMT 28 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Kharkov, 28 Jun—Russian Council of Ministers Chairman Viktor Chernomyrdin arrived in Kharkov this morning, where he will be attending the conference of heads of administration and chairmen of oblast soviets of border oblasts of Ukraine and Russia. Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma is leading Ukraine's delegation at the conference.

In answer to a question from an ITAR-TASS correspondent at Kharkov Airport, Chernomyrdin said the conference is being held on the initiative of the five Russian and five Ukrainian contiguous oblasts with the aim of finding an understanding on how to live together in the future. "The people here have been living together for centuries, yet today we find ourselves in a situation in which there are artificial obstacles to normal life," he said. "The task of the present meeting is, above all, to take a look at how these artificial impediments can be removed."

Chernomyrdin said that everything will largely depend upon the leadership of the Russian and Ukrainian oblasts and "how they themselves will negotiate." "We as a government will only assist them. We have no intention of getting in the way."

Ukraine Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma said the Ukrainian Government will only assist the frontier oblasts to establish economic relations with their Russian neighbors. He urged closer cooperation between the two governments: "If we come to understand each other better, our peoples will draw closer."

After today's conference in Kharkov, Chernomyrdin will be visiting the Black Sea shipyard in Nikolayev. Tomorrow, in Rostov-na-Donu, he will chair a conference on cooperation in combine building between Russian and Ukrainian enterprises.

Navy Air Regiment Hoists Russian Flag

PM2806125693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 26 Jun 93

[By Vladimir Plotnikov; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Plotnikov] The transfer of Black Sea Fleet military units to the Russian flag continues. Today it was hoisted over the headquarters of the 43d separate naval ground-attack air regiment. The officers assembly, counter to the naval agreement between presidents Yeltsin and Kravchuk, expressed itself in favor of a single Black Sea Fleet, in favor of giving Sevastopol the status of its main base, and in favor of the state autonomy of the Republic of Crimea in alliance with Russia and Ukraine. The officers assembly decree says that the commanders have taken this step with a consideration for the mood of the personnel and to avoid a further breakdown of relations with Russia. The airmen also dislike the pay, which is half that of the Ukrainian armed forces and three times lower than in Russia. Questions of the social protection of the servicemen and members of their families remain unresolved. Like the pilots the servicemen of other coastal military units do not want the division of the fleet and possible transfer to the command of the Ukrainian armed forces.

Azerbaijan Events Threaten Russia

PM2806162193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Jun 93 p 2

[Observer Aleksandr Golts article under "Week's Topic" rubric: "After Dinner—Do We Change the Government?"]

[Text] A captain instructs a sergeant: "Here is the company's schedule for the day: before dinner—drill training; after dinner—we change the government." This joke used to apply to Latin American or African countries. As the development of events in Azerbaijan shows, changes of power by force or by threat of force are also becoming commonplace on the territory of the former Soviet Union.

At the same time it is not a matter involving too much trouble. That is, it requires a minimum of forces, means, and preparation. So it would hardly occur to anyone, as it did to the classic authors of a past age, to call such a thing an "art." What art there is! First a conflict between the local military and the president, and then an accelerated march on the capital, from which the president has already fled. The leader of a discontented army puts his demands to the authorities and then declares his readiness to personally assume all responsibility for the country. That is all there is to it. At the same time all this happens against a background of a very calm, not to say indifferent, attitude on the part of those who only recently elected the president who is now being overthrown.

The Azerbaijani events indicate that the situation in republics which have long been involved in regional conflicts is attaining or could attain a new level of instability. It is characterized by the fact that local military leaders are becoming one of the most influential and frequently also decisive internal political forces. They are not professional soldiers raised on the traditions of unconditional obedience to the top political leadership. They are people who have engaged in military matters by force of circumstance or because of their own interests. For them war has become a way of life. It is most accurate to call them field commanders. Under conditions where state institutions have been weakened by interminable conflict, these people realize quite quickly that power grows out of the barrel of a gun. And they act accordingly. We have seen precisely this in Afghanistan and Tajikistan. We are observing the same thing in Azerbaijan now.

Together with them figures from the former Soviet political elite of these republics are making their way and acceding to power on a wave of instability. It is certainly not the peoples' nostalgia for communist ideology that takes them to the heights of power. Their return is based on a real nostalgia for stability and for skillful or at least experienced administrators. At the same time relations between the field commanders and figures from a previous age can be different: They can both compete and cooperate. Today, for example, it is very difficult to fathom all the intricacies of the relationship between Guseynov and Aliyev. But clearly, when such games begin, when alliances at the top, coups, and countercoups become common political practice, all this increases to a still greater extent than before the uncertainty of the situation both inside the given countries and in their relations with their neighbors.

What is happening in Azerbaijan now is a perfectly clear signal to those politicians of ours who continue to see the constant maintenance of a high degree of confrontation in society as an opportunity to achieve their own ends. A long period of instability, whether caused by war or by an internal political struggle, in any case undermines and weakens state power. The endless rocking of the state boat simply starts to make the people feel sick.

The new spiral of instability, which not only Azerbaijan is approaching (the situation in Georgia, for example, is also developing according to a similar scenario), also poses a serious challenge to Russia. Unfortunately, the forecasts of those analysts who assumed that Central Asia and the Transcaucasus would become regions of conflicts for a very long time are being confirmed. It will take years to bring the national interests of the countries which are being formed there back into balance. To give statehood clear-cut forms and definite borders. All this will be done through strong-arm confrontation. And yet Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Tajikistan are not Angola or even Yugoslavia. They have close economic ties with Russia. Hundreds of thousands of our compatriots live there. Finally, these republics are in direct proximity to our territory.

All this can mean just one thing—lengthy conflicts are threatening to cross Russia's borders and to erupt in a debauchery of banditry, economic crimes, an upsurge in the drugs business, and an influx of refugees. This will be accompanied by the fact that the central authorities of these states will be entirely absorbed in an internal struggle and will hardly be able to act as reliable partners in the attainment of any accords whatever.

All this demands an active policy in respect of these states, and it is doing so more insistently with every passing day. Meanwhile, if you take the crisis in Azerbaijan, Moscow's position seems rather vague. Particularly against the background of the intensified skirmish between Turkey and Iran for influence in this Transcaucasian republic. Russia, whether it likes it or not, will now also have to take the geopolitical situation into account.

I understand what has caused Moscow's cautious approach to the Azerbaijani crisis. It is a very convenient candidate for the role of "external enemy," which unscrupulous politicians might require. Its desire to defend its legitimate interests could also be interpreted as "imperial interference." For some people have perceived the "hand of Moscow" in the Azerbaijani events. But in this case the price of isolationism could be too high. Unlike the United States, we are not separated by an ocean from a world raging with wars.

It seems that there are two main areas in which replies to the existing challenges should be sought. First, we must not abandon attempts to channel all the former Soviet republics into unblocking conflicts, however hard this task might be today. For it is perfectly obvious that joint decisions and joint actions can provide a chance, if not to settle, then at least to localize existing conflicts. What is more, the time has come to put these problems to the entire world community. The United Nations and the CSCE must be urged to seek common approaches. In this way it is possible to weaken the desire of individual countries to use instability in the former USSR in their own interests.

On the other hand, it is also necessary to take into account the very worst scenarios for the development of events. It is already necessary to seriously strengthen the country's southern borders and to make them opaque for the conveyance of not only arms but also any other resources capable of fueling ongoing military operations. Of course, it is necessary to create effective military cover for the borders. Today there is every reason to believe that the southern salient will be precisely the one from which the chief threat to our security will proceed. Suppose some captain wishes after dinner to remove not only his own government?

Khasbulatov Receives Belarus Parliamentary Delegation

LD2806144493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1400 GMT 28 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow June 28 TASS—Russian parliament chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov today received a delegation from the Belarusian parliament to discuss the need for strengthening bilateral trade and economic relations, inter-parliamentary relations and interaction within the framework of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

In the course of the meeting in the Russian parliament building, first deputy chairman of the Belarusian parliament Vyacheslav Kuznetsov spoke of the activity of the Belarusian parliament and work on a new constitution of the Belarusian republic.

Participants also discussed prospects for realigning the two countries' legislation in the economic sphere and stressed the need for a coordinated budget policy and an economic and customs union within the framework of the Commonwealth.

Says CIS on Verge of 'Collapse'

LD2806174293 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 28 Jun 93

[By correspondent T. Aldoshina; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Over 200 documents concluded in the framework of the CIS are hardly working at all. We are on the verge of the collapse of the CIS. It was with these words that Ruslan Khasbulatov opened the meeting of parliamentary delegations from Russia and Belarus today. The idea of a firm economic union between the two states is important, and this may become a compensation for Belovezh failures [reference to Belovezhskaya Pushcha where CIS founding documents were signed]. But for that to be so, according to the Belarus delegation, one will have to pass from words to practical actions.

A communique was signed at the end of the meeting. In it, the two sides reaffirm their commitment to pursuing coordinated market reforms, to eliminating the aftereffects of the Chernobyl disaster, as well as to cooperation in defense and technical spheres.

Croatia's Foreign Minister Granic Holds Talks in Moscow

Meets With Churkin

LD2806172593 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 28 Jun 93

[Text] In Moscow Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic talked this morning with Vitaliy Churkin, Russian deputy foreign minister and special envoy of President Boris Yeltsin on questions regarding the former Yugoslavia. In the first one-hour round of talks, Granic and Churkin talked in particular about issues in connection with the problem of prolonging the UN Protection Force's [UNPROFOR] mandate in Croatia's occupied areas.

This is the first visit Granic has paid to Moscow in his capacity as minister and the continuation of our frequent contacts with Zagreb, Churkin said, and added that such contacts benefit Croatian-Russian relations and also the international efforts for overcoming the crisis in the former Yugoslavia.

Granic said that his talks in Moscow today were very important, as they were taking place at a time of decision-making on the UNPROFOR, in Croatia while the crisis and war in Bosnia-Herzegovina has reached its final stage. We greatly appreciate Russia's constructive role and Andrey Kozyrev's personal role as well as that of Vitaliy Churkin in resolving the crisis, Minister Granic said.

The talks between ministers Granic and Churkin continued over lunch. Our minister is also expected to have a lenghty talk with Andrey Kozyrev, head of the Kremlin diplomatic service.

Discusses Issues With Kozyrev

LD2806180593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1650 GMT 28 Jun 93

[by ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Aleksandr Krylovich]

[Text] Moscow, 28 Jun—The seven principles for a settlement of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia proposed by Russia have been positively received by the different sides in this conflict. This was reported today by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev after a meeting with his Croatian counterpart Mate Granic. According to him, besides Croatia, Vladislav Jovanovic, foreign minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, earlier expressed a positive attitude to the Russian initiative.

The main thing, Andrey Kozyrev stressed, is that the decision taken on the basis of the talks currently underway should not be a "diktat with regard to any of the sides." It should be a decision that excludes "the legalization of seizures of territories by force that, as the sides themselves acknowledge, did not belong to them historically." He pointed to the role of the international community in preserving the element of realism during the talks, and in observing the guarantees for each of the sides in the conflict. "The opportunities offered by talks today with regard to Bosnia as well as with regard to Serbian Krajina should not be missed. There should be a precise and clear understanding by all the sides that, even if the talks progress in a complicated and slow manner, they cannot for all that be replaced by the use of force," Andrey Kozyrev stated.

Mate Granic, in his turn, noted the importance of maintaining the mandate of the UN forces in Croatia, with whose help the resolution of the UN Security Council is being carried out and a peaceful settlement is being implemented. At the same time he stressed that the Vance-Owen plan should form the basis of this settlement.

Hungarian President Goncz Visits Udmurt Republic

LD2806140193 Budapest MTI in English 1327 GMT 28 Jun 93

[Text] Izhevsk, June 28 (MTI)—Historical storms aside, Finno-Ugric peoples living in the Russian Federation are now reviving their identity and intellectual life with a new lease of life, said Hungarian President Arpad Goncz, after today's talks with Udmurt Supreme Council President Valentin Tubilov in Izhevsk, capital of Udmurtia.

Goncz said the main aim of Finno-Ugric populations in the Republics of Komi, Mari El, Mordvinian and Udmurt was to restore their eroded linguistic culture and establish native-language education. They sought ties with other Finno-Ugric kin, including Hungary. And, leaders of the republics showed a readiness to satisfy the needs of Finno-Ugric populations to observe their identity and ensure their national culture, Goncz said.

According to the Hungarian president, support for the Finno-Ugric peoples' endeavours served the interests of Hungary and Russia. He hoped that Russia, itself having one of Europe's largest minority populations outside its borders, would understand the problems of Finno-Ugric nations.

Goncz believed understanding of Finno-Ugric peoples evidenced Russia's open and modern policy, adding to the country's international prestige as a state whose policies rested on a solid moral bases. Tubiolov said it was unexpectedly difficult to establish a base for sovereignty mainly due to the lack of qualified experts. Hungary is expected to help with training.

Goncz proposed a delegation of cultural and economic experts visit Hungary to survey opportunities and extended an invitation to the 1996 Budapest expo to leaders of the republic.

On Tuesday, Goncz will travel to the Chanty-Manshiy autonomous province.

Cairo MENA on Al-Qadhdhafi's Meeting With Envoy

LD2806122493 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 28 Jun 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] MENA is reporting that Libyan revolution leader al-Qadhdhafi received the Russian ambassador in Tripoli on 27 June and handed him an urgent message addressed to Russian President Boris Yeltsin. The contents of the message are not being revealed.

Kozyrev Comments on Yeltsin Visit to Greece

LD2906043993 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0239 GMT 29 Jun 93

[Excerpts] Russian President Boris Yeltsin will begin today his official visit to Greece. Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev talked yesterday to our observer Viktor Levin about the significance of the visit:

[Begin Kozyrev recording] The visit is significant because it is the first one of a new series of high-level visits that are no longer linked to eliminating old problems, like problems inherited after the Cold War [word indistinct] from the West, to eliminating problems in achieving understanding and establishing new, normal relations, or to eliminating problems in bilateral relations with, for example, a great country such as China. Many of our problems accumulated over many years.

We had to get rid of this burden and put things on the right track. Take India, for example. We have inherited a debt there.

Greece is the first country Russia is dealing with after having resolved, so to speak, these urgent tasks, after having taken a definite place—a place of its own and a worthy place—in the world community. Now it can at last start developing its ties with states in relations with which there are no disputable problems. We do not have to overcome something that took place in the past. Despite the fact that Greece is a member of NATO, the NATO angle—so to speak—has never dominated our relations with Greece. [passage omitted]

Greece is a major maritime power that has a large trade fleet. We naturally have things to discuss and can cooperate in this area. A whole number of very interesting economic projects, both of a general and specific nature, can link us with Greece and are linking us. The culmination of the visit will be a major political treaty. I must say here that it is a sort of paradox, but it is the first high-level visit ever by a Russian leader to such a country as Greece, though it seems that this country is one of the closest to us in spirit. [end recording]

Treaty, Agreements To Be Signed

LD2906111493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1002 GMT 29 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow, 29 Jun—This afternoon Russian President Boris Yeltsin flies to Athens on an official visit. This is the Russian head of state's first visit to Greece. Immediately after the welcoming ceremony at Athens airport, a meeting will be held between Boris Yeltsin and Greek President Konstandinos Karamanlis.

June 30 will be a working day and will begin with the laying of a wreath at the monument to the Unknown Soldier. The Russian president will then see the sights of Athens and meet with Greek parliamentarians. The main part of the schedule for this day of the visit will be the Russo-Greek talks. Following their conclusion, the signing of a treaty on friendship and cooperation is planned, as well as a package of five to six intergovernment agreements which will regulate cooperation between the two countries in various fields, including the economy, science and technology, and culture.

After the document-signing ceremony, Boris Yeltsin and Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis will hold a news conference.

On the last day of the visit the Russian president will meet with representatives from Greek business circles as well as the leader of the parliamentary opposition, Andreas Papandreou. The visit is scheduled to end with an official breakfast in honor of the president of Russia given by the prime minister of Greece. Boris Yeltsin will return to Moscow on Thursday evening.

Luxembourg's Foreign Minister Poos Visits Moscow

Discusses Issues With Defense Official

LD2806201693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1115 GMT 28 Jun 93

[by ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Moscow, 28 Jun—At the Russian military department today, Andrey Kokoshin, Russian Federation first deputy defense minister, held talks with Jaques Poos, Luxembourg deputy prime minister, who also holds the posts of foreign minister, defense minister, and minister of foreign trade and cooperation. The sides discussed a wide range of issues concerning European policy and national and regional security.

During the conversation Jaques Poos briefed the Russian side on the nature of mutual relations between NATO and the West European Union, on the latter's growing activity and influence, as well as on the European Community's approaches to relations with Russia and other CIS members in the security field.

Answering the Luxembourg visitor's question on the Russian military department's appraisal of prospects for interaction with NATO and West European Union member-states within the framework of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, Andrey Kokoshin stressed that in this area Russia proceeds from both its national interests and those of the system of collective security which is now being created with other CIS members on the basis of the Tashkent treaty. In his view, both bilateral forms of interaction with North Atlantic alliance and West European Union member-states and relations on an inter-bloc basis are viable. "We are in favor of constructive and equal relations," he said but stressed, nevertheless, that there are certain problems affecting this process.

He described the double-standard approach by some western states and political structures to the issue of human rights in Estonia as "the most serious of these problems." Violation of the Russian population's rights, in his view, "has acquired considerable proportions by European standards over there," while "the situation is turning explosive through the Estonian authorities' fault." The political consequences of this tendency may prove very serious for Europe. He noted at the same time that relations between Russia and other Baltic states contain instances of constructive solutions to problems, specifically, regarding some aspects of Russian-Lithuanian relations.

Adopts Joint Statement With Kozyrev

LD2806215793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1540 GMT 28 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Vladimir Suprun and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow, 28 Jun—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and Luxembourg Foreign Minister Jacques Poos, who is in Russia on a three-day official visit, said that the revival of xenophobia and racism, and the emergence of inter-ethnic conflicts in many parts of Europe, are dangerous for democratic values and security on the European continent.

In a joint declaration adopted today at the end of the talks the ministers call for vigilance and tolerance, in particular with regard to national minorities and the dispossessed.

The ministers spoke in favor of an immediate ceasefire in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and in favor of talks aimed at "a just and viable settlement, acceptable to all interested parties."

The heads of the foreign policy departments believe that such a settlement must take into consideration the principles of the London conference reflected in the Vance-Owen plan, as well as the resolution on safe havens, adopted in accordance with the Washington program of joint actions. At the same time, the ministers spoke in favor of strict adherence to sanctions stipulated by the resolution of the UN Security Council.

Mentioning the important role of the Council of Europe in strengthening democracy and ensuring human rights and freedoms, A. Kozyrev and J. Poos welcome the application by the Russian Federation to join the Council of Europe. At the same time, the ministers urge an expedient completion to the talks on a partnership and cooperation agreement between Russia and the EC.

Andrey Kozyrev and Jacques Poos also spoke in favor of stepping up bilateral relations in political, economic, social, cultural and scientific matters.

Russian Aircraft Successful at French Air Show

LD2506202093 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 25 Jun 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The results of the 40th annual air show in France, which ended this week, look very impressive for Russian aviation constructors. At this year's show, at Le Bourget, out of 28 aircraft exhibited, 20 were civilian planes and helicopters, and only eight were military. Nevertheless, the Russian superweapon, the attack helicopter Ka-50, the Black Shark—created by the Kamov firm, under the leadership of general constructor Sergey Mikheyev, and equipped with a 30 mm cannon—was a sensation at the show. The helicopter is crammed with super-modern electronics and powerful weapons, and is extremely maneuverable. It is already clear that orders for deliveries abroad over the next six months will increase. The same also applies to the Mi-28 helicopter. All this equipment is purely Russian in origin.

However, the development of civil aviation technology has taken a different course. Academician Bratukhin, leader of the Russian delegation, comments:

[Begin Bratukhin recording] In order to increase the competitiveness of our equipment we are using the possibilities we are being given in questions of scientific and technical cooperation. [end recording]

As a result, the Russian IL-96M and the Tu-204 aircraft are equipped with Western engines and electronics and will evidently soon fly on Western air routes; 10 IL's have already been sold at $68 million each to the international leasing company Partners.

A further sensation at Le Bourget was the Russian microlight aircraft, the Aviatika—but more about that in a later broadcast.

IBRD Loan Should Boost Oil Output, Currency Earnings

PM2506115193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 25 Jun 93 p 1

[Yuriy Popov report: "1.5 Billion 'Greenbacks' Coming Soon"]

[Text] ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI recently informed its readers about a possible delay in Russia's being given $1.5 billion in accordance with the IMF's program for systemic transformations. Why? The IMF and Moscow failed to reach a final agreement on the terms of the aid.

At the time we assumed that this problem would be settled forthwith. KYODO reported that the United States also opposed the delay and urged the international organization to implement the first package of support for Russia's economic reforms as soon as possible. According to the Japanese agency, the IMF will nonetheless give Russia $1.5 billion before the next G-7 conference opens in Tokyo 7 July.

There has been another good piece of news for us recently. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development [IBRD] voiced readiness during a meeting of the board of directors to give the Russian Government a long-term targeted loan of $610 million to support the country's power generation complex. We would point out that this is the largest loan ever given by the IBRD in its almost 50-year history. The government will distribute the money among oil extraction associations on strict conditions guaranteeing that the money borrowed is repaid within the agreed timeframes.

The final decision on the IBRD loan will be made later. If this project is implemented, along with other Western investments, oil extraction in our country should increase by 12 million tonnes, or 3 percent. This will bring in an additional $1.5 billion a year in hard-currency revenue from oil exports.

Constitution Issues

Rutskoy Attacks Threat of New Dictatorship

PM2806132993 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jun 93 p 1, 2

[Aleksandr Rutskoy article: "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back"]

[Text] Like many Russians, I have been following very carefully the progress of the constitutional process in the country, including the work of the Constitutional Conference. This is clearly inevitable, because the topic is presented on all radio and television programs as a very important problem affecting the country's political life and as a kind of panacea against all the ills suffered by Russia today.

I will not conceal the fact that, while I regard the Constitutional Conference as an undoubtedly substantive theoretical seminar in which many political and public figures and academics are taking part, I am nevertheless far from thinking that that body is capable of resolving the whole range of profound and highly contradictory problems connected with drafting and adopting the country's new basic law.

Detailed study of the statement on the new constitution of the Russian Federation, which, in the best traditions of days of yore received almost unanimous approval at the plenary session on 16 June 1993, has made me additionally certain of this.

Now, when the question of summing up the final results of the conference arises, many of its participants should, I think, consider once again whether one step forward has been taken or two steps back.

Therefore I shall endeavor without emotion (of which I am constantly accused), based strictly on documents, to argue my own viewpoint, comparing the text of the statement and the text of the current Russian Federation Constitution.

The statement says that "human rights and freedoms are inalienable and belong to everyone from birth. They are recognized and constitutionally guaranteed in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the generally recognized norms of international law." Fine, but...

If we look at Article 32 of the current Constitution, we read: **"Human rights and freedoms belong to people from birth. The generally recognized international norms concerning human rights enjoy priority over the laws of the Russian Federation and directly generate the rights and obligations of a citizen of the Russian federation."** More than consonant, are they not?

Let's look further at the text of the statement: "Everyone in Russia is equal before the law and the court. Equality of rights and freedoms is guaranteed regardless of race, sex, nationality, language, origin, place of residence, attitude to religion, political convictions, or property or official status."

On reading such a description I involuntarily find myself thinking that I have already heard this all somewhere else. I turn over the pages of the Constitution, and what do I find? Article 34 explicitly says: **"Everyone is equal before the law and the court. Equality of rights and freedoms is guaranteed by the state regardless of race, nationality, language, social origin, property or official status, place of residence, attitude to religion, convictions, affiliation to public associations, and other factors."**

Later on something which is at least outwardly new does appear in the text when it it is stated: "The unity of the economic area is guaranteed by the inviolability of ownership, the free movement of goods, services, and financial resources, the protection of competition, and the freedom of contract and economic activity carried out in accordance with the law."

I know that I was not the only one in whom this "innovation" generated pretty melancholy thoughts. Why? Precisely because terms like "single economic area" and "free movement" did not enter our lives from somewhere on the moon, but from the lamentable Novo-Ogarevo process enshrined within the Belovezhksaya Forest deal. Those who wish may consult Articles 5 and 7 of the well-known agreement on the CIS. The consequences do not, I think, need to be explained, and when they now try to force such expressions into the text of the Russian Constitution, you involuntarily start drawing analogies.

How many lances have been broken in the last two years at congresses of people's deputies and in the mass media over the question of private ownership! And the statement solemnly proclaims: "Private, state, and municipal ownership are equally recognized and protected in the Russian Federation. Citizens and associations of citizens are entitled to have in their private ownership land acquired in accordance with the law. No one can be arbitrarily deprived of his property." You cannot dispute that, but was this dispute necessary at all?

If we look again at the current Constitution we see that Article 10 says clearly enough: **"The following forms of ownership—private (of corporate bodies and citizens), collective (common joint and common shared [dolevoy]), state, municipal, and that of public associations—are recognized and protected in the Russian Federation."**

And Article 12 clearly says that land can also be in private ownership. Article 13 stresses that **"citizens' property and the right of its inheritance are protected by the state."**

I know that some people at the Constitutional Conference have advocated removing from the draft everything connected with social safeguards for Russians provided by the state. But reason did nevertheless carry the day, and the statement says that "social provision at the state's expense for old age, illness, loss of the ability to work, and loss of the breadwinner is guaranteed in the Russian Federation."

But again, isn't this essentially repeating, albeit in a highly truncated form, **Chapter 3** of the current Constitution "Social Development and Culture."

The following point in the statement is presented in the mass media as a "breakthrough": "The multinational people are the sole source of state power and repository of state sovereignty."

"State power is based on the separation of and collaboration among the legislative, executive, and judicial authorities." A first-rate idea and one which raises no special issues, however again there is a small snag...

Article 1 of the current Constitution says: **"The power of the people, federalism, a republic form of rule, and the separation of powers form the unshakeable foundations of the consitutional system of Russia."** While Article 2 says: **"All power in the Russian Federation belongs to the multinational people of the Russian Federation. The people exercise state power through the Soviets of People's Deputies, which constitute the political basis of the Russian Federation, and do so directly."** There is also a corresponding form of words on the separation of powers in Article 3.

The explanation is thus simple enough: The main task is to eliminate the system of soviets (the power of the people) and replace it by someone elected by all the people, perhaps another dictator "representing the power of the people." How can you fail to invoke here the "historic thesis" that "the soviets and democracy are incompatible" and at the same time get rid of an awkward vice president. It is necessary to serve it up in this way as if a constitutional office is being abolished altogether because of A.V. Rutskoy.

We are being proposed a bicameral federal assembly as the supreme organ of legislative power. No one, including the present body of deputies, will argue with that. But has anyone seriously thought about how the federal level in its proposed form and the republlic, kray, and oblast levels of legislative power in the form of soviets will be able to dovetail in practice? I am not sure.

Virtually no one questions the provision of the statement that "the president of the Russian Federation elected by all the people is the head of state."

But this is actually stated in **Article 121** of the current Constitution, and the whole practice of Russia's political life of recent times bears witness to it.

The provision that "executive power is exercised by the government of the Russian Federation" is in some respect new. But, if we look at the stenographic records of all the recent congresses of people's deputies, we see that they have spoken about this repeatedly, stressing the need to take this step above all in the interests of overcoming the economic crisis. But who opposed it at the time? Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin himself.

All of us are worried by the question of the integrity of the Russian Federation? And it is not fortuitous that the statement should say: "The sovereignty of the Russian Federation as an integral and indivisible state applies to the whole of its territory."

But how does this differ in essence from the wording of Article 68—**"The Russian Federation is sovereign. It independently exercises all its powers on its territory"**—and Article 70—**"The territory of the Russian Federation is integral and inalienable."**

I don't know about others, but I have a very mixed reaction to the statement's thesis of "the right of the peoples to self-determination within the Russian Federation." You automatically recall the slogan which has already visited so many misfortunes on the country: "Self-determination up to and including secession." It is again beginning to make inroads in the constitutions of a number of components of the Russian Federation. The consequences are easy to imagine.

Nor is virtually anything new introduced by the paragraph of the statement which says: "In relations with federal organs of power the components of the Federation are equal among themselves... Local self-government is recognized and guaranteed in Russia."

Since all this is contained in the current Constitution **in Chapter 7 and Chapters 17-18**, where very detailed descriptions are given, and in the Federation Treaty.

Thus one may ask the question: "Was it worth making all this fuss if everything said in the approved statement is already contained in the current Constitution?"

And I am sincerely sorry that many participants in the Constitutional Conference, having spent ten days in the Kremlin, on which substantial budget resources were spent (and how much more will be spent?) simply failed to find the time to compare the text of the statement with the Constitution and to understand that they have taken one step forward while taking two steps back.

But all this was sparked off solely by what was left out of the the statement but which clearly they are trying to force into the final version—de facto dictatorial powers of the president, which could mean nothing less than the end of democracy in Russia.

I hope that when the participants in the Constitutional Conference reassemble in the Kremlin they will nevertheless be able to take a step forward by restoring the constitutional process to the framework of the law and national accord, completely discarding all the ideas tossed up to them which reek of further political recklessness and pose the danger of the adoption of the new Russian constitution by illegal means.

Shakhray on Work of Constitutional Conference

LD2506195793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Text] The text of the new fundamental law drawn up at the Constitutional Conference is ready not only for discussion but for adoption as well, Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray believes. At a meeting with journalists today he said in particular that a group of representatives of the subjects of the federation were considering the possibility of adopting the new constitution at the Congress of People's Deputies or at a referendum. The option of a constituent assembly is also possible.

Touching on the status of the subjects of the federation, Sergey Shakhray, who was coordinating the work of their representatives in the framework of the Constitutional Conference, stressed that it is important for Russia to have a provision in the constitution on the general sovereignty of the Russian Federation which restricts the sovereignty of any subject. The formula that the federation and its subjects mutually delegate powers, which is present in the draft constitution, seems very flexible to Sergey Shakhray so that it can reflect the diversity of the complex nature of the Russian state.

Yeltsin Calls Arbitration Commission Meeting

LD2506165993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1612 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow, 25 Jun (ITAR-TASS)—Russian President Boris Yeltsin today convened a session of a constitutional arbitration commission within the framework of the Constitutional Conference, the press centre of the Constitutional Conference officially reported. Judges of the Constitutional Court, the Supreme Court and the Supreme Arbitration Court of the Russian Federation who are taking part in the work of the Constitutional Conference were invited as members of the commission.

Having opened the session of the commission and confronting it with a number of questions that still remain disputable, the president suggested that the constitutional arbitration commission decide on a procedure for considering the questions and hold the session independently. The first session was chaired by Academician V.N. Kudryavtsev.

It is expected that as discussions continfue and new comments and suggestions are submitted, the constitutional arbitration commission will continue its work, the Constitutional Conference press center report states.

Popov Cited on Ways of Adopting New Election Law

PM2506154193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 25 Jun 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Constitutional Conference"]

[Excerpts] Participants in the Constitutional Conference gathered in the Kremlin again yesterday. The prevailing mood favors analyzing in greater depth the new draft Constitution, which has been edited to take the amendments into consideration. [passage omitted]

Yesterday the conciliation commission disseminated to the groups an act on elections of the supreme organ of Russian Federation legislative power—the Federal Assembly. Gavriil Popov spoke about the likely fate of this document.

"This act's legitimacy may be further enshrined in two ways," Gavriil Kharitonovich believes. "First, this law may be adopted by the Supreme Soviet or the Congress. Two-thirds of the votes are not needed here. If difficulties arise, for instance, if the Congress fails to muster a quorum, it will be necessary to seek another legitimate form of adoption with the Constitutional Court's assistance." Gavriil Popov proposed, in particular, the following options: approval either by the Constitutional Conference, or by components of the Federation, or by a section of the Congress factions, or by the Constitutional Court.

New Constitution 'Must Not Be Rushed'

PM2506100793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

[Aleksandr Yermakov report: "Make Haste Slowly"]

[Text] Kemerovo—Preparation of the draft of the new constitution must not be rushed—this thought runs right through a joint statement by Kemerovo Oblast Soviet Chairman Aman Tuleyev and Kuzbass Governor Mikhail Kislyuk. The statement has been sent to the president and the Supreme Soviet chairman.

A small group of people, even if they are very authoritative people, cannot adopt the Fundamental Law, which is of such vital importance to Russia's future. The constitutional race now taking place is all the more inappropriate. The procedure for adopting the constitution is of fundamental significance, the region's two leaders believe. There can be many options for adopting it, but one condition is obligatory—compliance with legality. It is perfectly possible to hold a constitutional assembly, which would include both the Congress of People's Deputies and plenipotentiary delegations from the Russian Federation's components.

Political Issues

Activities of Government Officials Reported

PM2806095193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 25 Jun 93 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed feature: "Executive Branch Monitoring"]

[Excerpts] **The Government's Working Day**

All five sections of the Constitutional Conference reconvened yesterday. So the government members who are group coordinators—First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko, Vice Premier Yuriy Yarov, and Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray—were participating in their work.

First Vice Premier Oleg Lobov met with representatives of the Volkswagen concern before chairing a collegium meeting at the Russian Federation Ministry of the Economy.

First Vice Premier Oleg Soskovets held a conference on questions of privatization in industry's defense sectors.

Vice Premier Anatoliy Chubays met with ambassadors from G-7 countries.

Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray had planned a meeting with the commissioner of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe for yesterday evening. The conversation was expected to focus on the problems of national minorities. [passage omitted]

Congresses

Speaking at an international congress entitled "Small and Medium-Sized Entrepreneurial Activity in Russia," Sergey Filatov, leader of the Russian Federation Presidential Administration, noted that entrepreneurs "constitute the social force that will do everything possible to secure the adoption of a new constitution."

Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin described the support and development of entrepreneurial activity as a priority area in the Cabinet's activity. In his words, small and medium-sized business is the chief source for creating the new jobs which will be required after the process of enterprise bankruptcies takes place. He announced that the Russian Government has earmarked 25 billion rubles for the development of small and medium-sized business. "This is not much," he said. "However, we will find an opportunity to increase this help at some point in the future."

First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko told participants in the congress that a federal program to develop entrepreneurial activity is under preparation in the government. Work on it will be completed in August. He said that one way to stimulate entrepreneurial activity will be for the government to offer start-up capital to people who decide to set up their own business.

Russian Vice Premier Anatoliy Chubays believes that the Cabinet should "untie the hands" of entrepreneurs—this would be the best form of help that the Russian Government could give to small and medium-sized business. [passage omitted]

More on Official's Activities

PM2806113993 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 26 Jun 93 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed feature: "Executive Branch Monitoring"]

[Text] **The Government's Working Day**

A session of the Russian Council of Ministers Presidium has been held, with vice premiers and members of the Government Cabinet taking part.

On his return from Kiev Russian premier Viktor Chernomyrdin chaired the session of the Russian Federation Government Presidium. The session agenda included a draft state program for the stage-by-stage resolution of questions concerning material and technical backup for Russian internal affairs organs' operational service activity; and questions relating to federal state programs for preserving and developing culture.

In addition to taking part in the ongoing Constitutional Conference, First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko met with participants in the congress entitled "Small and Medium Enterprise in Russia" and later with Russian and foreign journalists at a press conference devoted to the congress' work. The first vice prenmier also had a meeting with UNESCO Director General Federico Mayor.

First Vice Premier Oleg Lobov held a telephone conference with leaders of local executive bodies and economic organizations, and later received a government delegation from Armenia.

First Vice Premier Oleg Soskovets met with the directors of a number of enterprises and production associations.

Vice Premier Yuriy Yarov is taking part in the work of the Constitutional Conference.

Vice Premier Anatoliy Chubays took part in the Russian Federation Government Presidium session, and later met with Brian Atwood, director of the U.S. Agency for International Development.

Kostikov, Poltoranin Cited on Corruption Charges

PM2906084393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

[Vasiliy Kononenko report: "The New Skirmish Between the Two Branches of Power in Russia is a Skirmish for the Constitution"]

[Text] The lack of confidence expressed by the Russian parliament in high-ranking officials V. Shumeyko and M. Poltoranin leaves no doubt that a new round of political skirmishes is breaking out in the interrelationship between the two branches of power. Initiated on this occasion on the encouragement of Russian Federation Deputy General Prosecutor Makarov, or rather his chief Stepankov, it has a far-reaching aim—to wreck the unexpectedly successful process for elaborating the new Russian Constitution, and to seize the political initiative from the hands of the president. In many ways, although the subject matter is completely different, it is a repeat of scenarios from the so-called "ANT Affair," inspired at the time by a moribund CPSU for the purposes of rendering M. Gorbachev powerless. This analogy is brought to light by statements made by representatives of the president's team in a conversation with IZVESTIYA's correspondent.

As stated by V. Kostikov, the Russian Federation president's press secretary, the Kremlin had been expecting a surprise of this sort. And it is noteworthy that it was sprung on the eve of a plenary session. Is such anarchy by legislators—namely, accusing officials of every kind of sin and demanding their resignation on the basis of unsubstantiated and dubious facts—possible in the civilized world? There is a court for this—and it is not the Constitutional Court, but that before which all Russia's citizens are equal.

The press secretary went on to note in his official statement that the president's stance on this issue is as clear as it possibly can be: As always, he watches over the law, which is the same for everyone and before which everyone is equal. At the same time, the president draws attention to the politicized nature of the discussion on this issue in the Supreme Soviet. Criticism was concentrated on the activity of just one branch of power.

By taking resolute measures to combat corruption in all organs of power, the president is expressing support for the government in its efforts to stabilize society. He stresses that government solidarity is the most important condition for the success of reforms.

In his turn, M. Poltoranin said: "This is not the first time that the anti-Russian policy being conducted by Khasbulatov and his comrades-in-arms has inspired crisis situations and discredited its authors. So it was at the referendum, and, again, this is what happened at the Constitutional Conference. Khasbulatov's grouping is concerned that a section of deputies has started to drift toward the constructive channel forged by the Constitutional Conference. This has worried them. Hence the attempt 'to force the pace of the game,' as in chess. And on this occasion, the most despicable methods are being deployed, right up to slander. The sad thing is that at times staffers at the Prosecutor's Office are becoming Khasbulatov's political gofers. It is possible that someone among them does not understand that they are merely pawns in a huge skirmish aimed at weakening the presidential team and undermining the constitutional process."

Mikhail Nikiforovich continued: "This is not the first time the parliamentarians have targeted me. As soon as a situation becomes hopeless for them, they drag up Poltoranin. It would be surprising if they had forgotten me this time.

"Now for the essence of the accusation against me. Prosecutor Makarov has alleged that I attempted to usurp [rasporyaditsya] Russian property—we are talking about the fate of the House of Science and Culture in Berlin. Naturally, the allusion is clear—if somebody tries something, they must have a personal interest. In actual fact, I was tasked with transferring this building to Russian ownership in such a way that it might bring in an income for Russia rather than be used by specific forces to their own ends. I know only too precisely that interest in this property was, and still is, demonstrated by A. Rutskoy, V. Tereshkova, and V. Falin—and not only them.

"For instance, no sooner had I signed papers addressed to the German authorities than a group of five citizens from Israel arrived and declared their rights to part of the land on which the building was constructed. When I came to recall my papers, the Israelis had disappeared for some reason. To this day, I have in my possession a notarial confirmation received from Doctor Karl Heinz Schmigel that 'the Russian Federation is and will be the proprietor' of this building." (M. Poltoranin gave a copy of this document to the editorial office—V.K.).

"It grieves me that instead of investigating the activity of the parties interested in this matter, the Prosecutor's Office got involved in politics. I have already announced that a lawsuit has been filed against A. Rutskoy for the sum of 10 million rubles which, when I win the case, I intend to give to Afghan war veterans. This case is on hold pending the pronouncement of a verdict by the Prosecutor's Office. Now I will file additional suits against those deputies who have slandered me, and I anticipate demanding hundreds of millions from them, which may be sent to the fund for the independence of the press.

"I want to repeat what I said earlier: Corruption has to be combated professionally. It is parliament which must task an independent prosecutor's group with verifying the existence of foreign bank accounts for all the officials of the executive, the legislature, and the judiciary. Once they are revealed, it will be possible to trace the links back [spustitsya po tsepochke] to our sinful land and expose all the corrupt elements," M. Poltoranin stressed.

Prosecutor Makarov Denies Charges Are Political

PM2906090193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 26 Jun 93 First Edition p 3

["Press Conference" report by Tatyana Romanenkova: "In the Interests of an Objective Investigatuion"]

[Text] First Deputy General Prosecutor Nikolay Makarov, head of the Commission to Investigate Materials Connected with Corruption Among Top Officials, held a press conference in the House of Soviets yesterday.

Most of the questions reflected interest not so much in the nature of the crimes as in the names Shumeyko, Poltoranin, and Shokhin. Is the charge against them not premature? Should one be calling for their removal, is the commission's report not pursuing parliament's political goals, and is it not another attack on the president's team?

Answering the journalists' numerous questions, Nikolay Makarov said:

"We are not interested at the moment in any political goals on the part of parliament and presidential structures. We are studying them only insofar as they are regulated by the law. It is our duty. Our recommendations to parliament concerning petitioning the president to remove the vice premier from his post are prompted by the materials and interests of the preliminary investigation, and also by the norms of the Criminal Procedure Code. Since individuals occupying such a post can hinder the investigation. They have access to documents of interest to the investigation. These individuals can influence the investigation's objectivity, but what we are doing is making a suggestion to the president and it is not binding.

"As for the charges, I have simply listed the unlawful actions that have harmed Russia. If the materials are refuted in the course of the investigation, all the officials will receive apologies. An official can only be removed after an official charge, regardless of the president's wishes. Criminal proceedings have been brought for that purpose. The final question of guilt will be decided by the court."

Yerin Against Using Investigations for Political Purposes

LD2806123693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1134 GMT 28 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Gondusov]

[Text] Moscow, 28 Jun—Today Russian Internal Affairs Minister Viktor Yerin stated to journalists that "neither the president nor the Russian Government are going to relieve anyone of the liability established by law, but they believe that the investigation should be carried out exclusively within the framework of the legislation currently in force."

When press representatives asked him to comment on the recent speech by the deputy general procurator of the Russian Federation in the Russian parliament, he said: "I am categorically against using operations-search and investigation materials of criminal cases under investigation for political purposes."

I believe, the minister said, that "any materials of investigation should be brought out not from the rostrum. Their place is on the table of a procurator, and then of those judges, who will be examining the statement of indictment."

Deputies Question Rutskoy on Financing Summer Home

LD2606152193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0841 GMT 26 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 26 Jun—A group of people's deputies of the Russian Federation has sent a query to Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy. The document says that a number of publications have informed their readers that "you are having a private summer residence built near the village of Razdory, Odintsovo Rayon, Moscow Oblast.

"The house—with a construction area of 17.4 by 17.4 square meters, an underground garage for four cars, a sauna, a swimming pool, and a separate boiler-house—is not cheap to build. The 400-meter long concrete wall alone costs over 1.5 million rubles.

"Taking into consideration your statement to the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet regarding the humble set-up of your summer home, we ask you to inform us which legislative act has made it possible for you to receive a one-hectare plot as a life-long and inheritable property and which departments supervise the organizations involved in this expensive construction project," says the deputies' query.

Yuriy Skokov Interviewed on Ties With Yeltsin

LD2706232093

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1625 GMT on 27 June carries a 45-minute program entitled "Who Are You, Yuriy Skokov—A Year Later," in which announcer Oleg Poptsov interviews former Russian Security Council Secretary Yuriy Skokov, who was removed from his post by presidential decree on 10 May 1993.

Skokov opens the interview: "I have my standpoint, I have my point of view, and let's say it does not suit the president, he does not like it, or he does not like my behavior, my drive to express my view openly when I think it necessary to express it and not when I am prompted to say something. Well, if he does not like it, he does not like it. We have parted, but that does not mean we have to be enemies."

Asked about the rumors that after Yeltsin's television address on 25 March Skokov and others had met to find another president, Skokov says: "I do not want to react to this information, because there is no basis to it, and in general, I never had any conversations, and no one had any conversations with me that we had to replace the president, or that we needed to form some kind of new team. As regards 20 March, you must not throw a bomb on to our sick and very complicated society. The draft decree prepared on 20 March was precisely such a bomb."

Skokov continues: "In order to prevent the decree from appearing, I had to write an official written request to the president, that in accordance with my powers and his instructions I had examined the prepared draft decree. From my point of view, the issue of this decree was leading to the collapse of Russia, the splitting of civil society, and in general to unpredictable consequences, it runs counter to our ideals which we have undertaken to serve, and so I ask you not to sign the decree and for my part, I do not see any possibility of endorsing it. The fact that it did not appear means that this memo played some role, and I feel some satisfaction from that."

On the subject of his relations with Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy, Skokov says: "Regarding my relations with Aleksandr Vladimirovich, you have raised a very difficult question, because it concerns not so much my relations with Aleksandr Vladimirovich, but his relations with the president. His standpoint is not quite acceptable to me, I do not share it. When, while remaining in that post, he carries on active work and speaks out—it seemed more acceptable to me, or nicer, at any rate more in line with my inner convictions, if he had said to the president: My friend, what we agreed on is not working out, I am going into opposition. I do not like the present situation, but I do not condemn him."

Skokov says Rutskoy was badly treated over the allocation of duties following the elections in June 1991, and goes on: "Maybe we are different people, and we take a different view of many problems, but I like him, as a person, I share his constant concern with the problems of the state and society, although we often argued, and very trenchantly."

Asked about rumors that Rutskoy would seek Skokov's cooperation if he should run for the post of president, he says: "First, the information is wrong, really just rumors, Aleksandr Vladimirovich and I have had no conversations at all, nor have we tried to build any common standpoint or common plans."

Following some background information, Skokov continues: "As far as I could, within the scope of my possibilities and abilities, I tried to be useful to President Yeltsin in exercising a very difficult role, the builder of a new state. And it seemed to me—maybe I am wrong—while we were pursuing that aim, we had certain differences of opinion, of judgement, of approaches, methods of work, means of doing one job or another, but no major problems arose. But when, from my point of view, the president diverged somewhat from his main role and main job, certain differences arose between us, but as he was the president and I was an official, a presidential aide, of course, we resolved the matter democratically; I did not resign, because I thought and I think that I carried out my official duties, I carried out my job as formulated by Yeltsin himself."

On his present convictions, Skokov said: "I think that the main task for everyone today is to keep Russia from disintegration, civil society from schism, and in general to return to what we have forgotten, in the name of whom all this was embarked upon. We said to people, you are living badly, but over there they are living well; we will now do everything so that you might live just as well as over there. As a result people have started living even worse than before, we talked about this the first time. Power is primarily the possibility of influencing people's behavior. So such a possibility has to be created by someone. Before, this possibility relied on the mighty hierarchy of the party structure, and this party team implemented everything. Now we have to build some kind of new possibility. We have said that this will be a democratic, law-governed possibility. But have we built it? No, we have not. And now as regards the vertical. Anyone who is placed by society above itself to command it, under democracy needs collective control over his actions. Otherwise it is not democracy. But if those who are governed start to control their governor, then a contradiction is concealed inside. This is the origin of the problem of the president and the soviets. I do not think it is a very precise act to pose the question of abolishing the soviets. Maybe there should be some other democratic form of public participation in the elaboration and settlement of state matters, but that is another matter. There still has to be such a structure, but a system is quite unacceptable when the vertical consists of of the president, and then heads of administration appointed by the president—that is a long way from democracy."

Asked about his present attitude toward Yeltsin, Skokov says: "Just as before, I have great respect for him, I believe that he is undoubtedly a strong personality, and I think that a difficult fate really has fallen to his lot, to head the Russian state at this difficult time. But I also think that recently he has made a serious political blunder, because he did not have the right to take up position on one side of civic society. We had conversations on this several times, and I do not think the president should be the guarantor of stability in society. Only the law can be the guarantor of stability in society. First we had a tsar, then we had the boss, then after one of the bosses they tried to make the boss re-appear, it did not work, and we got the general secretary for a long time. Now the general secretary has disappeared, and the president has appeared, but the mentality remains the same. And the role of the president in building the Russian state is special, because he should not become a tsar, or a boss, or a monarch. But acknowledging this mentality, this psychological trend in our society, in our people, with hindsight of our life, he should have used it skillfully. He should not have become one single group of people. We are all equal, we do not have sworn enemies, we are not whites and reds, we are all for reforms.

"I believe that there are no enemies of the reforms, there are different standpoints, different points of view on the method of carrying out reform. But the main thing is that those who began these reforms do not have a project for these reforms or a program for realizing such a project, that is, a technology for building a new system in our life. Here lies the main problem with all the contradictions."

Continuing on the subject of reform, Skokov says: "They took a prescription needed for healing a sick western economy. They took that prescription and applied it to our sick economy, sick with another, more serious illness. Thus an objection of many opponents of the reformers was that what was needed was a prescription designed for our illness, and not someone else's. What was understood and has to be understood here by restructuring is the transition from one form of running the economy, from one system, to a completely different system, and the creation of the necessary infrastructure for this, that is, the construction of a fundamentally different system of economic relations. What is currently under way is an entirely different procedure which will lead to serious consequences."

Following a discussion on the application of foreign models with reference to the history of Russian economic reforms since 1991, the convertibility of the ruble, and the reform of the financial system, Skokov is asked about betrayal, to which he replies: "To answer your question in specific terms, I did not betray Yeltsin as a person, simply as a person, because he and I had agreed in April 1991 in Kuzbass to serve certain ideals, we set the aims which we intended to achieve, and without blowing my own trumpet and without saying anything about how I work and what I do, I tried honestly and conscientiously to do everything in the name of achieving those aims. From my point of view the president diverged somewhat from those principles and ideals, but this still did not induce me to leave him, the fact that he himself decided to embark on this breach, that is up to him. I did not object, but I did not betray him. I did not have any arguments with the president as to who is most important and I did not claim his laurels, I did not make any claim to eclipse him, as you recall I never came out with any interpretation of his thoughts, views and standpoints as is often done nowadays. So I do not regard this as betrayal. We parted on certain positions, there was a chance that we could stay together, but that required of me a renunciation of my principles and convictions, to which I could not agree."

The conversation continued on the meaning of teamwork and leadership, the apparatus, and the work of the Constitutional Conference. Asked about his regrets, Skokov says: "I only regret, I have a deep compassion and feel that we are all guilty before the people. I personally do not care whether the initiator of schism in society is the president or the Supreme Soviet or the congress. Both sides have sworn to the people that we will do everything for the people to live well. We are losing the younger generation, and I do not even know when we will make it up, we are losing intellectual potential. We are now ruining education and leaving ourselves without a future. I can only regret that perhaps my possibilities, or perhaps my energy, or I do not know what, were insufficient to somehow break this process. I have no grievances against anyone, I have no feelings of irritation. I am very anxious that the Security Council, as a new structure of state administration or means of running the state, should not be destroyed."

In conclusion Skokov says he has no plans to transfer to other work, but also has no plans to leave politics. "I would now like to focus my efforts on seeking methods of running the state in conditions of decentralizing the economy, of political independence of many subjects of the Federation, of lack of clarity as to what a subject of the Federation actually is and what Russian statehood is at the present time, and what Russia should be in the future. We have agreed with quite a large circle of people that we will devote our work to seeking answers to these questions and methods of putting into effect the decisions that could arise as a result of these answers."

As to his possible return to Yeltsin's team, Skokov says: "No. Perhaps I am not a very pleasant person for communication—we touched on the subject of friends—but I will never return. The positions have been determined, and I can see no point in returning to that team again."

Abdulatipov Advocates Peoples of Russia Congress

PM2806144793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

[Article by Ramazan Abdulatipov, chairman of Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities: "Time To Gather Russia Together"]

[Text] The Russian Federation is at a crucial stage in its historical development. The fate of people and the present and future of the dozens of distinctive peoples making up our country depend to a great extent on what sort of aims form the basis for the plans for the transformation of Russian statehood.

It is impossible not to see that the entire territory of the former Soviet Union is an ethnic disaster zone and—it is important for us to realize this—our peoples are on the brink of social, political, and, especially seriously, moral and spiritual degradation. The peoples' new hopes pinned on perestroyka and renewal crumbled together with our common home—the Soviet Union—although this was by no means fatally inevitable, despite the claims of the architects of the collapse, and in Russia today the shoots of democracy and of a civilized economy and politics and the very hopes of national rebirth of the peoples are becoming the hostages of extreme forces, various kinds of political adventurists, and criminal and corrupt structures.

In the struggle for power and for access to privatized material wealth the bureaucracy and political elites at every level are exploiting national-patriotic ideas that are sacred to everyone, sometimes reducing them to absurdity. National-democratic leaders in the former Union republics, who only yesterday were accusing the Union center and sometimes the entire Russian people of colonialism and of infringing ethnic rights, in full view of the world public are today cynically turning members of other ethnic groups, and above all Russian speakers, into "second-class" citizens without rights, and sometimes even into pariahs. In some places what is being pursued is essentially a policy of the physical annihilation of ethnic minorities, which are denied even limited autonomy and self-government.

The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, with the assistance of experts from the "Cooperation Among Peoples in the Name of Life—Senezhskiy Forum" movement, elaborated and approved a year ago a "Blueprint for the National Rebirth of the Russian Federation's Peoples." This was the first instance of a new direction in lawmaking directed toward guarantees of protection and state support for the cultural, historical, and natural legacy of the Russian Federation's peoples.

According to the instructions of the Congress of People's Deputies, the Soviet of Nationalities was the main instigator of the elaboration, coordination, and signing of the Federation Treaty, with its orientation toward the equality of the socioeconomic and spiritual-political rights of the peoples and of each person irrespective of whichever component of the Federation is their home.

The Federation Treaty presupposes the solution of two cardinal tasks: The first is the further prevention of interference and diktat by the federal center and its bureaucracy in the affairs of Federation components and in the self-government of the peoples residing there; and the second is the prevention of national and regional diktat over the state and the prevention of actions aimed at destroying the integrity of the Russian Federation as a unified state.

However, instead of daily painstaking work to implement the Federation Treaty, both local separatist bureaucrats and unitarian Moscow functionaries are continuing to struggle against it, and, as the first sessions of the Constitutional Conference showed, the line that is essentially being adopted is that the Federation Treaty is invalid and there is a need to ensure standardization of the status of Federation components, and all this is being served up to the accompaniment of the slogan of achieving equality of rights, which, incidentally, has to a great extent already been achieved not only in the treaty but also in the existing constitution.

It is extremely characteristic that the Federation Treaty is opposed, as a rule, by the people who ensured by means of similar arguments the collapse of the Soviet Union. Otherwise who needs to be endlessly stirring up this theme—along with a militant failure to understand the mentality of ethnic problems and the state of ethnic minorities? Equality of opportunity is certainly fine, but it must not lead to standardization of the Russian Federation.

Attempts at standardization, for all the outward attractiveness of this thesis, are today extremely dangerous for the independence and distinctive life not only of peoples and territories but also of the entire Russian state. The desire for standardization is a tradition of Westernizing and communist ideology. Even under the harshest regimes Russia has retained diversity in the self-government of the life of peoples and territories. Ethnogenetic diversity of peoples, cultures, religions, living conditions, and daily life requires the coordination and implementation of a multiple-option nationalities policy that is maximally coordinated with the specific conditions of the vital activity of the peoples of republics, krays, oblasts, and autonomous formations.

I am convinced that there are no insoluble ethnic problems in our country, but there are problems that have not been resolved for years, and there are claims to ensure sovereignty and the revival of particular ethnic groups at the expense of the freedoms and rights of others. The slogans of revival are often merely camouflage for the interests of a narrow group of national or political elites. The consequences of the disintegration of the Soviet Union showed unequivocally that it is impossible to save yourself alone in present conditions. We can save ourselves only together.

When visiting the Russian heartland—from Chukotka to Dagestan—I have seen for myself that the further away from Moscow you are, the more accord and desire for creation there is. Moscow, the heart of Russia and capital of the state, does not set an example of accord and patriotism and is not gathering Russia together. Continuation of the political and interethnic confrontation threatens the integrity of our state and the life, culture, and traditions of our peoples. Either we realize this or we will become a raw materials appendage of the world economy and a cesspool for the waste products of mass culture.

Recent events show that vital questions determining the future fate of the federative multinational state and distinctive peoples are resolved extremely feebly at the level of state structures and are left to Muscovite and local state-political elites and corrupt groupings. A contemptuous attitude toward the history, traditions, and self-determination of peoples and territories in the name of preserving their culture, language, environment, and traditional forms of economic activity and lifestyle and toward collective ethnic individual rights is systematically displayed in all drafts of the new Russian Constitution. This has been repeatedly pointed out at sessions of the Soviet of Nationalities. At the same time against this background throughout Russia there is a growing danger of the destruction of the single constitutional space. As the bitter experience of the consequences of the disintegration of the Soviet Union shows, politicians—both conservatives and democrats—adjust and adapt to any conditions, and the victims are hundreds and thousands or even sometimes millions of Russians, Georgians, Moldovans, Abkhaz, Ossetians, Ingush, Chechens, Tajiks, Chukchi, and representatives of many other peoples.

I think that there is a pressing need to convene a congress of the peoples of Russia with a view to seeking political and interethnic accord and elaborating the relevant sections of the new constitution with regard to ethnic and individual rights in a multinational state, the protection of people, peoples, and the state from national-fascism, finding optimum models of federative structure, and, finally, determining on this basis the main priorities and principles of state nationalities policy.

Delegates to the congress of peoples of Russia could be submitted from each component of the Russian Federation by coordinating candidacies with organs of power together with national movements. This coordination is fundamentally important, because if a conflict were to arise at local level between the official organs of power and national movements, a creative normative-based congress could not be assembled.

It is necessary right from the start to sweep aside attempts to use the idea of a congress of peoples of Russia in political, still less nationalist, games and to turn it into an organ for performing some kind of power functions. Broadly speaking, it is an assembly, a Russian powwow called upon to coordinate specific national interests of the peoples, recommend priorities in nationalities policy, and determine the extent of mutual responsibility in achieving all-Russian national accord.

The most important thing is to ensure that the congress of the peoples of Russia-Russian Federation expresses its will for accord, creation, and cooperation, a will that nobody can ignore and that the president, Supreme Soviet, and government, and also the relevant organs of power at all levels, will have to take into account in their activity.

It is time to gather Russia together, gather the homeland together. Everyone will gain by this—representatives of all nationalities and all parties and movements. May those who are afraid of a strong, prosperous, united Russia and a happy life for Russians and Russia's peoples lose out!

Pre-Election Struggle Under Way; 7 Blocs Formed

MK2406093093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 24 Jun 93 p 3

[Yekaterina Deyneko, Maria Zasurskaya report in "Parties Getting Ready for Future Elections" column: "Seven Pre-Election Blocs Formed"]

[Text] Although the date of the forthcoming elections has not been defined yet, the election struggle is already under way. Yesterday the creation of yet another bloc was announced—a united democratic bloc. As of now, therefore, seven election blocs have been formed.

The majority of Russian parties have already joined the election battle. At the end of May on the initiative of Civic Union a Coalition of Civic Forces was formed which is to field Aleksandr Rutskoy as a presidential candidate. This initiative has brought about serious changes in the composition of the Union: The Democratic Party announced its withdrawal, and Arkadiy Volskiy stopped attending political council meetings. The remaining members of the Union, however, believe that this has not weakened the election bloc, which now also includes the Russian Manufacturers Federation and the League of Defense Enterprises. Possibly, the federation, jointly with the Revival Foundation and the Congress of Entrepreneurial Circles, overseen by Aleksandr Rutskoy, will be "feeding" the bloc's election campaign.

The president's supporters in early June announced the creation of a Bloc of Reformist Forces which, according to Vladimir Shumeyko, will unite all of the country's reformist forces. This association is based on the 25 April Union, created by Gennadiy Burbulis, and the Democratic Russia movement. A strength of the pro-presidential coalition are its close links with the executive branch and its contacts with numerous foundations and associations that will apparently be raising funds for the election campaign. As Lev Ponomarev, cochairman of the Democratic Russia movement, told KOMMERSANT-DAILY's correspondent, the main sources of funding will be the Association of Privatized Enterprises and Enterprises Subject for Privatization headed by Yegor Gaydar, and the League of Cooperative Workers and Entrepreneurs led by Vladimir Tikhonov. Furthermore, the bloc's campaign will also be financed by Aleksandr Yakovlev's "Demokratiya" international foundation and the Foundation in Support of Democratic Transformations in Russia led by Sergey Yushenkov.

Many democratic parties and movements are in no hurry to join the pro-presidential bloc, apparently intent on playing their own election game. Among those that have refused to affiliate with the Bloc of Reformist Forces are the Russian Democratic Reforms Movement (Gavriil Popov), the Free Democratic Party (Marina Salye), and the Russian Party of Unity and Accord (Sergey Shakhray). It is expected that they will soon announce their association within a Bloc of Reformist and Liberal-Conservative Forces.

The Entrepreneurs for New Russia movement also intends to form its own election bloc. Talks to that effect are under way—with the Free Labor Party and the All-Russia Renewal Union. This bloc is planning to nominate Grigoriy Yavlinskiy as presidential candidate.

The Republican Party intends to form its own "bloc of liberal forces." It will apparently be joined by the Economic Freedom Party, which within the next few days will begin consultations with potential allies.

At yesterday's session of the Public Committee of Democratic Organizations, Telman Gdlyan, leader of the New Russia bloc, proposed the creation of a United Democratic Bloc based on the committee. Gdlyan said that Shakhray's and Burbulis' are "armchair" parties doomed to failure since they have no grass-roots structure.

Opposition supporters so far are lagging in their election campaign. Only the Russian Communist Workers Party and the Communist Party of the Russian Federation have branches in most regions of Russia which can become the basis for forming an election bloc. The May plenary session of the Russian Communist Party decided to create an election "bloc of national patriotic forces."

[Article is accompanied by following boxed passage]

The main pre-election blocs and the political parties and movements supporting them:

The State Patriotic Bloc—possible presidential candidates: Albert Makashov, Aman Tuleyev; supported by the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, the Russian Communist Workers Party, the National Salvation Front, and the Russian Unity deputies bloc.

The Coalition of Civic Forces—possible presidential candidate: Aleksandr Rutskoy; supported by the Free Russia People's Party, the Socialist Workers Party, the Manufacturers Federation, the Democratic Center deputies bloc, the Renewal Union, and the Smena faction.

Entrepreneurs for New Russia—possible presidential candidate: Grigoriy Yavlinskiy; supported by the Free Labor party.

The Bloc of Liberal Forces—possible presidential candidate: not determined yet; supported by the Republican Party of the Russian Federation and the Russian Democratic Reforms Movement.

The United Democratic Bloc—possible presidential candidate: not determined yet; supported by the People's Party, the Socio- Liberal Association, and the Christian-Democratic Union.

The Bloc of Reformist Forces—possible presidential candidate: Boris Yeltsin; supported by the Democratic Russia movement, the 25 April Union, the Living Ring [Zhivoye Koltso] Union, the Democratic Russia faction, and the Radical Democrats faction.

Draft Law on Political Parties Previewed

MK2506111093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 28, 25 Jun 93 (signed to press 24 Jun) p 2

[POSTFACTUM report: "Political Parties Should be Financed by State"]

[Text] Gleb Anishchenko, an expert of the Supreme Soviet committee for contacts with public, religious, and charity organizations, presented at parliamentary hearings a Russian Federation draft law, "On Political Parties," that his committee prepared. The draft provides for the active participation by political parties in bodies of executive and legislative power. It prohibits commercial activities by political parties, while a party has the right to economic activity and the creation of noncommercial organizations. Political parties will be maintained from the budget of the Russian Federation and its components. The state is also supposed to fund political parties' election campaigns. Anishchenko stated that the authors of the draft law proceeded from the fact that the next elections will be held on the proportional-majority principle where one part of the deputies will be elected from territories, the other from party tickets.

Military & Space Issues

Yeltsin, Grachev Address Military Academy Graduates

LD2606163793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1247 GMT 26 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Andrey Naryshkin and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow, 26 Jun—"The Armed Forces of the Russian Federation, the officer corps are remaining calm, maintaining their internal unity and loyalty to their professional duty," Boris Yeltsin, president and commander in chief, stated today at the traditional reception in the Kremlin in honour of military academy graduates. The Army "is one of the most important stabilizing factors of the state of affairs in the country," and "we will put a decisive stop to any attempt to break it up," he stressed.

Speaking to the academy graduates, the president said: "Time has chosen you to stand at the sources of the rebirth of the Russian Army. It's a great honor and great responsibility to take part in this great creative business."

In his turn, Army General Pavel Grachev, defense minister, stressed that "we have the right to sum up the main and real result of the first year: The Army of Russia is run reliably, is battleworthy and is the guarantor of stability in the state. Our Armed Forces are acquiring a look of their own, are becoming more and more professional, compact and mobile, despite irresponsible statements by some about the alleged disintegration of the Army, who are trying to discredit the military leadership of the country no matter what in order to achieve their political aims and to cast aspersions on officers' collectives."

However, the minister said, "the reality is that recently the psychological turning point in the mood of the officers' corps and of all the men that we have all been waiting so much for has come about. People have finally gained confidence in the future of the Army, taken an interest in combat studies and have begun to engage in a matter of paramount importance—combat training."

Further on Yeltsin Comments

LD2606153993 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1500 GMT 26 Jun 93

[Text] President Boris Yeltsin has congratulated Russian officers, graduates of military academies, on completing their studies. Speaking in the Kremlin at a reception in honor of the graduates, he noted that under the present complicated political and economic conditions the Army was one of the most significant stabilizing factors and any attempts to split it would be decisively curbed.

Touching on foreign policy, Mr. Yeltsin gave top priority to the reduction of the military threat, strengthening business partnership and cooperation with foreign countries. The president attached particular importance to the START II Treaty on the limitation of strategic offensive weapons, which promoted a relaxation of the military and political situation in the world.

Defense Ministry Launches 'Space Probe'

LD2506131493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1055 GMT 25 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS freelance correspondent Semen Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow, 25 Jun—At 1220 Moscow time the Space Military Forces [SMF] of the Russian Federation Defense Ministry launched a "Soyuz" carrier rocket with the "Resurs-F1" space probe. The space probe which was launched today is designed to study the Earth's natural resources. The ITAR-TASS correspondent was told at the SMF press center that this launch, to fulfill the specific purpose of a satellite of this series, passed off successfully.

The space probe has been placed in an orbit close to the calculated one. Flight control of "Resurs," as of any other space probe launched by Russia, is carried out by the SMF through the main center for the management and tests of space probes located in Golitsino-2 in Moscow Oblast, with the assistance of a few individual space command, control, and telemetry complexes scattered throughout Russia from St. Petersburg to Maritime kray and Kamchatka.

Today's launch was a "jubilee" one, as this is the 60th time that a space probe of this class has been put into orbit, not counting the advertising and commercial "Resurs-500" satellite which was launched on 16 November 1992 under the "Europe-America-500" program. Moreover, the "Soyuz" carrier rocket has been launched 410 times from the northern cosmodrome. Altogether in the course of the space biography of Plesetsk there have been 1,430 launches of carrier rockers of various classes and 1,788 space probes were placed into near-Earth orbit.

Parameters Given

LD2506201293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1956 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow June 25 TASS—An artificial Earth satellite Resurs'F [as received] was put into orbit by the Soyuz rocket- booster from the Plesetsk launching grounds today.

The satellite carriers equipment for multi-zone and spectrum-zone filming to continue the research of the Earth's natural resources in the interests of various economic branches, solution of ecological tasks and international cooperation.

The satellite was put into orbit with the following parameters:

—the initial period of rotation - 88.8 minutes;

—the maximum distance from the Earth surface (in the apogee) - 271 kilometers;

—the minimum distance from the Earth surface (in the perigee) - 187 kilometers;

—the inclination of the orbit - 82.6 degrees.

The on-board equipment is functioning normally.

Voronin on Defense Issues in New Constitution

LD2606180893 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1100 GMT 26 Jun 93

[Text] This is the "Armed Forces and Society" program. The "Radar" studio is on the air. Igor Makarov at the microphone. Hello!

At this time, when issues of adopting the country's Basic Law are being debated, many people are asking: How will this affect relations between the Armed Forces and the power structures and relations between the Army and the people? What political and legal problems will the organizational development of the new Russia's Army come up against? This is the question I asked Lieutenant General Aleksandr Ivanovich Voronin, chairman of the subcommittee for supervising the implementation of the Russian Federation's defense legislation. This is what he told me:

[Begin Voronin recording] The idea of setting up such a subcommittee was broached a long time ago and the appropriate documents were drawn up. But this has only become a practical proposition more recently when, at a meeting of the committee, we examined the concept of parliamentary supervision in the sphere of defense, connected first of all with the fact that the committee has sufficiently prepared and drawn up and the Supreme Soviet has passed a number of laws on defense, on military service obligation and military service, on security, on the state border, and other laws, thus making clear what installations are subject to supervision.

This is envisioned in Article 107 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation which lays down that the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation is not only a legislative but also an executive and supervisory body. Thus, it is already clear what installations are subject to supervision: This is envisioned by the law on defense.

What areas should be adopted as the basis for supervision? First of all, the area of the general leadership of the Armed Forces; this general area of leadership of the Armed Forces proceeds first of all from the Constitution and the laws on defense, military service obligation and military service, and other normative legislative acts. The second area is supervision of the personnel policy in the Armed Forces. And the third area which is subject to supervision is the defense budget.

An important question now, of course, is the nature of the mechanism of supervision. The control mechanism is in principle also determined by the legislation in force. This is first of all receiving information from government and other bodies on various issues at our request. Briefly, we are seeking to impart a new impulse to the whole of this process. And I think that as regards the paramount tasks which must be resolved by our subcommittee, unfortunately the first analysis shows that many questions which today should already have been resolved—both in presidential and government structures—have not been fulfilled.

We think the government must positively react to all these issues. Solutions are needed immediately because the troops are actually waiting for them. Whether the laws are carried out actually in the localities depends to a very great extent on what decisions are made by the government and subsequently also by the Supreme Soviet, if our defense laws are to become fully effective. [end recording]

Security Minister Cited on Border Troops

LD2506230693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 25 Jun 93

[By Aleksandr Barkhatov; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] From its most recent history, Russia has inherited 61,000 km of borders, and it is as if there are no enemies as neighbors, but if you imagine that the destination of graduates from the Moscow Higher Border Guard College includes Tajikistan and the Transcaucasus, and that on maps that have just been drawn up the borders in Pskov Oblast and near the Baltic and Kaliningrad are makeshift, you see how transient the celebration of the splendor of the first officers' stars is in their fate.

[Begin Security Minister Viktor Barannikov recording] We are sending 30 officer graduates to serve in Tajikistan. First, I would like to point out there has not been a single refusal. Every one of them knows full well that today the situation is a fighting situation every day. [end recording]

For the first time, the orders on the conferment of ranks from citizens not from Russia are taking place in the college according to special links.

Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan—according to logic, the graduates will have to serve from neighboring sides. [sentence as heard] It would be good if, henceforth, the belief in honor and tradition, common to all people, is maintained, whether it be the brass band or the sound of coins which, according to custom, are thrown at one's feet.

Deputy Interviewed on Army Official Accused of Corruption

LD2506215393 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0320 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Report on interview with People's Deputy Vikto Urazhtsev by unidentified correspondent; place and date of interview not given]

[Text] [Correspondent] Quite a few various revelations linked with embezzlement, corruption, and nepotism have been heard in official circles this week. However, even against this backdrop, one story may seem incredible. I was told this story by Viktor Georgiyevich Urazhtsev, a Russian people's deputy and coordinator of the Army Reform group.

[Begin recording] [Urazhtsev] Here is a little story. On 1 March of last year, Army General Konstantin Kobets, chairman of the committee charged with preparing and carrying out military reform, employed Dmitriy Olegovich Yakubovskiy. Incidentally, Yakubovskiy is the son in law of General Kobets' assistant, (General Zaremba). Yakubovskiy's basic pay is tiny. Literally several months later—in July 1992—noting his great experience in his chosen field—although Dmitriy Olegovich never served in the Army—Defense Minister Grachev illegally, and by way of an exception, conferred upon him a military rank of justice major, three grades higher than his current one. Yakubovskiy became a reserve major. Literally five days later, there was an order by the director general of the Federal Agency of Government Communications and Information to the effect that Justice Major Dmitriy Olegovich Yakubovskiy is to be taken on for active military service in the Federal Agency of Government Communications and Information under the Russian president with the simultaneous conferment on Justice Major Yakubovskiy of the military rank of colonel.

[Correspondent] From a lieutenant to a colonel?

[Urazhtsev] Yes, on 16 July he was still a lieutenant, while on 21 July he was a colonel. I will not talk about how many of our officers, divisional commanders, are colonels; nor how much you must go through to deserve this military rank—20 years of service at least.

[Correspondent] Once he became colonel, he was given broad opportunities of contributing his bit to the affairs of state, is that not so?

[Urazhtsev] Oh, yes. Out of the blue, he got a diplomatic passport. When he departed for the United States, he was accompanied to the stairs leading to the aircraft by Colonel General Dunayev, first deputy Russian minister of internal affairs, who cleared him through formalities. The mobile RSD [not further identified] radio communications equipment and (Amstrem), which only the president and the chairman of the Supreme Soviet have, is installed in his Mercedes. He gets it all. He has diplomatic immunity. Suddenly Zhukovka [Stalin's former residence near Moscow] is allocated—Zhukovka is worth hundreds of millions of rubles—and ten hectares for housing construction are allocated. One machine gun, four Kalashnikov sub-machine guns, and a pistol, not registered anywhere, have now been found at their Zhukovka facility. In September, especially for Yakubovskiy, a post is created of plenipotentiary representative of law and order protection bodies of the special information services of the Russian Federation Government. He is now the top head of the law and order protection bodies and special information services under the Russian Federation Government. Bodyguards are assigned to him, to Yakubovskiy, a total of 11 people, all of them reserve officers. He receives weapons that do not seem to be registered anywhere. Yakubovskiy is appointed counsellor to the Russian Federation Government. So here you have this mad career over just a few months.

Finally, the Russian president issues a decree to confer, through the Russian Federation president's Federal Agency of Government Communications and Information, the military rank of major general upon Colonel Dmitriy Olegovich Yakubovskiy. Well, this is called nepotism; this is called abuse of official powers, for our Criminal Code does not have corruption as a term. Well, what did he do, what have we got at present, while we are still looking into it—why is it that Yakubovskiy grew so? At Arbat 15 he got half a story. He got 10 government communications telephones. These are given to top State officials. Everything he got, he got for free.

[Correspondent] And they still say we fail to show concern for the Army!

[Urazhtsev] This person receives money—$17 million—to buy children's food. He transfers this money to the United States, where he spends a long time himself. This year only $1.4 million worth of children's food has been delivered, while the entire remainder of the money is in the form of dollars. The funniest thing is that the rank of general has not been conferred on Yakubovskiy; it was said he had fled. But Yakubovskiy has now returned to Russia—with impunity, I am sure. He walks around Moscow. The same bodyguards protect him and he feels completely beyond punishment, because he has retained his status. He is working, increasing his length of service, and is having a new unform made, and I think he is still thinking of the general's stripes. [end recording]

[Correspondent] To this it only remains to be added that according to some data at our disposal, 500 new generals were appointed in Russia over the first five months of this year.

Military Conversion Program Through 1995 Previewed

MK2906094093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 29 Jun 93 p 2

[Aleksandr Sergeyev report: "Conference on Conversion. Government Takes Stock of Conversion"]

[Text] A working conference held yesterday by Oleg Soskovets, first deputy government chairman, was devoted to the results of the defense industry's transition to civilian production in 1992, and the country's further military conversion program for a period until 1995.

In opening the conference Oleg Soskovets observed that if solutions to conversion issues are delayed, this may negatively affect not only military-industrial complex enterprises, but all Russian industry as well. Already in 1992, a sharp reduction in military orders led to a position where military producers had to exert enormous efforts to stave off a precipitous production decline.

Despite preferential government loans worth 60 billion rubles [R], production growth at enterprises slated for conversion was as little as R83 billion—well below target. But even this amount of civilian products appreciably stabilized the manufacture of consumer goods in the country.

In the estimate of the government committee for defense industry sectors, nearly R400 billion in prices prevailing in the fourth quarter of 1992 is required in financial support for military-industrial complex enterprises and conversion in 1993. At the moment, however, R112 billion has been earmarked for conversion programs alone. The money will be made available in installments over the year with a considerable part of it being depreciated by inflation. The committee experts propose that the government periodically index the sums to inflation to prevent the depreciation.

The military-industrial complex enterprises conversion program up to 1995 envisions as priorities the upgrading of civil aircraft and ship production, the development of equipment for the fuel and energy complex, the timber industry, and participation in housing construction and road building. Participants in the conference noted that to achieve this, stronger government control over the conversion effort is required.

The final variant of the conversion program will be submitted to government discussion after having been revised by the committee for defense industry sectors.

Conversion Projects Described

PM2906105793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 Jun 93 First Edition p 3

[From the INTERFAX, RIA-NOVOSTI, POSTFACTUM, ITAR-TASS roundup: "Conversion"]

[Text] Brandenburg Economics Institute Professor Caspar Schirmeister has described future prospects for Russian-German cooperation in the area of conversion as favorable. Participants in a "roundtable" at the "Conversion as an Economic Factor" conference in Moscow focused on this topic.

According to Caspar Shirmaister, "both states' major military plants are on the whole located in regions which are twinned or have affiliated enterprises here." In his opinion, a special feature of Brandenburg and Berlin enterprises is that they "have already amassed a wealth of experience on how to make conversion a positive economic factor in market conditions."

Yuriy Yashin, a member of the president's expert council, noted the necessity of adopting a comprehensive federal conversion program.

He reported that the level of production decline at several defense enterprises is approaching 80 percent and that a loss of highly qualified specialists can be seen. However, as he emphasized, 25 percent of the country's economic potential is going to supply the military-industrial complex.

In the wake of a decision by the parliament, the Tatarstan Cabinet of Ministers is intending to use more than 50 percent of the country's consolidated budget as preferential credit for enterprises undergoing conversion.

Some 500 projects for military-industrial complex enterprises have already been reviewed by government experts and 196 of them have been adopted.

Kemerovo Oblast Administration Head Mikhail Kislyuk has stated that a conversion program in the Kuzbass has been successfully carried out in the space of only two years.

He reported that defense products now represent only a little more than 5 percent of the total volume of production at such a large military-industrial complex enterprise as Kemerovo's "Progress" production association, all the rest being consumer goods and equipment for manufacturing. The volume of military orders at the "Yurginskiy Mashinostroitelnyy Zavod" production association amounts to only 7.3 percent of the total volume of production.

The Borisoglebsk Aircraft Repair Plant is producing motorized hang gliders as part of its conversion program.

The "Sizar"—as this flying machine is called—is in great demand not only among motorized hang glider fans, but also private farmers who use it to carry out the chemical treatment of crops.

Defense Conversion Conference Held

LD2906083493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0709 GMT 29 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Moscow June 29 TASS—Managers of the defence plants which presently undergo "conversion" from military to civilian output will hold a conference on Tuesday [29 June] at the Russian Parliament.

Alvin Yeremin, chairman of the Parliamentary Committee on Industry and Power Engineering; Oleg Soskovets, first deputy prime minister; Viktor Glukhikh, chairman of the Parliamentary Committee on Defence Industries; Andrey Kokoshin, first deputy defense minister, and other representatives of federal ministries and departments will take part.

On Monday, an analogous conference was held by the Russian Government and was presided over by the First Deputy Prime Minister Soskovets.

According to Soskovets, further delays in "conversion" of the defense plants, which found themselves in a more difficult situation because of the restructuring, threaten to aggravate the crisis in the regions.

Kokoshin said that the Russian Defense Ministry was "vitally interested in preservation of the Russian high technologies and in causing the "conversion" of the defence production to run in compliance with the goals and interests of national military and technical policies".

However, the task could hardly be completed without an adequate and more purposeful financing of the programmes aimed at the diversification of the defence industries, Kokoshin emphasized.

Economic Issues

Chernomyrdin, Rutskoy Attend Agrarian Union Congress

LD2906092293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0805 GMT 29 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Dzyublo]

[Excerpts] Moscow, 29 Jun—The second congress of the Agrarian Union of Russia opened in Moscow in the Hall of Columns of the House of Soviets today. It has assembled three years after this public organization, whose aim it is to unite all the peasants of Russia, was set up. [passage omitted]

Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, Vice President Aleskandr Rutskoy, and Supreme Soviet Deputy Chairman Valentin Agafonov are taking part in the congress.

Yeltsin Sends Greetings

LD2906094193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0911 GMT 29 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow June 29 TASS—President Boris Yeltsin sent a message of greetings to participants in a Russian Agrarian Union congress that opened here on Tuesday [29 June]. The message was circulated by the presidential press service.

"It is an undebatable achievement of our Russian life that citizens may found their political and professional organisations. It is gratifying that such organisations have been founded by members of agricultural cooperatives and joint-stock companies that sprang up on both a purely market-determined basis and on the basis of former collective and state farms," the message said in particular.

Support for individually operating farmers by no means signifies negation of large agricultural enterprises. Everywhere around the world farmers, who own land, also tend to unite into every kind of cooperatives and associations. They are prompted to do so primarily by a sober economic reckoning and tough competition, the president pointed out.

Yeltsin expressed confidence that collective forms of land management can be effective in Russia as well. The point is to secure that this cooperation is voluntary and based on private ownership of the means of production, primarily of land, and on personal responsibility for the improvement of one's well-being.

Shafranik Outlines Energy Sector's Problems

PM2506151393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 25 Jun 93 First Edition p 1

[Nikolay Gorlov report: "We Have To Radically Change Our 'Rules of the Game,' the Minister of Fuel and Energy Believes"]

[Text] For 70 years Soviet and Russian industry got its raw materials for nothing. It was on this that the "profitability" of most enterprises was based. We were all so accustomed to this that even the recklessly bold reformers of the Gaydar team were not bold enough to extend price liberalization to the fuel and energy complex. The consequences of 18 months of free prices in industry and regulated prices for energy sources has entailed highly discomforting paradoxes. Fuel and Energy Minister Yuriy Shafranik expounded them at a recent meeting with workers of information structures. Thus, for instance, Russian industry's energy-intensiveness has increased by 34 percent over the last two years.

Hundreds of billions of rubles [R] in additional investments will be required to get back to the 1990 indicators. Despite a significant rise in electricity prices, it is cheaper today in relative terms than it was in 1990. There are still monstrous disproportions in the correlation between prices: Electricity in Russia is 100 times cheaper than in the United States, while industrial equipment is only half the price. "Unless we rid ourselves of this imbalance," Shafranik believes, "reform is doomed to failure, even in the event of successful 100-percent privatization."

The fuel and energy complex now has a surplus of over R1 trillion in its economic activity, yet at the same time it is in the grip of a very serious financial crisis owing to consumer nonpayments. The volume of nonpayments already exceeds R3 trillion. Delays in processing payments and exorbitant payments to middlemen still further exacerbate the situation. At the same time, the budget's dependence upon revenue from the fuel and energy complex is growing—two years ago it accounted for around 60 percent of the state coffers, while today the figure is over 70 percent. Clearly, an emaciated cow which is a sole source of livelihood constitutes a feeble hope for survival. In Yuriy Shafranik's opinion, the situation can be saved only by a radical shift in "the rules of the game."

First and foremost, price liberalization for energy sources is vital. If order is simultaneously imposed on the system of settlements, then the minister believes that it will be possible to stabilize prices for energy sources, albeit at a far higher level. Then structural transformations in the sector must be completed as quickly as possible. It is proposed to create powerful vertical structures controlling the entire technological chain—from the extraction of energy sources to the sale of the finished product. Then it will be possible to limit the field of activity of the various middlemen and to create Russian structures capable of being worthy partners and competitors of major Western firms which have an interest in Russian fuel and energy. Without the creation of these preconditions, Yuriy Shafranik does not think that the penetration of foreign capital into our fuel and energy complex will be safe.

It is essential to give new life to the small-scale power industry within the framework of the structural overhaul—carried away with 1,000-km power lines, we forgot that it is sometimes more advantageous to construct a small-scale power station of local significance. A most important problem is the elaboration of new, energy-saving technologies. According to Yuriy Shafranik's most optimistic estimates, it will be 2010 before we can get close to the European level in this sphere. Privatization should play an important role in improving the health of our fuel and energy complex. It is proposed to "tie up" around 30 million privatization checks, or one-fifth of the overall quantity, in this sector.

At the same time, Yuriy Shafranik warned against tendencies to turn privatization into an end in itself—in his words, it is justified only when it produces a concrete economic effect. The minister described changing the social mentality of both producers and consumers as almost the most complex task. The former still measure their successes by how much is hauled up to the surface, and not by the volume of output sold. The latter are inclined to see the fuel and energy complex as the main source of inflation and reject all economic arguments outright.

Even when they have become autonomous, enterprises in the fuel and energy complex cannot overcome their "centerphobia." Yuriy Shafranik believes that if the state fails to fulfill its obligations to an enterprise, the latter is entitled to take retaliatory measures, right up to halting deliveries under the state order. This is the only possible way of shaking up negligent functionaries. In the minister's opinion, in order to overcome the present crisis in the fuel and energy complex we should sharply increase the export of energy sources while leaving the producers with a significant proportion of the hard-currency proceeds. Naturally this will hit the state budget, but if this step is not taken then the state coffers will suffer even more—the goose that lays the golden eggs has to be saved.

Further Shafranik Comment

LD2506203493 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Reprot by correspondent V. Martynov on news conference by Yuriy Shafranik, minister for fuel and power engineering, in Moscow on 25 June]

[Text] There is no greater problem for us, from the worker to the minister, than the deteriorating financial system, said Yuriy Shafranik, Russian minister for fuel and power engineering, at a news conference today. This year enterprises in the fuel and energy complex failed to receive 3.2 trillion rubles. Mainly these are debts from Russian clients. It is obviously because of this that plans have been made to increase fuel prices in July. Oil will cost 33,000-35,000 rubles per tonne, instead of the present 17,000-20,000 rubles per tonne. The price of coal will increase by 4 or 4.5 times. In the minister's view, price reform is needed not for the benefit of the fuel and energy complex, but to eliminate price distortions, and it is, he believes, an anti-inflationary factor.

One more thing concerning debts: The payments system for gas has collapsed. Only 49 percent of gas supplied has been paid for with Estonia in particular owing Russia more than 10 billion rubles for gas. The first warning signal has sounded. At 1200 today, the Fuel and Energy Ministry reported, supplies of gas to Estonia were cut.

Finance Ministry Financial Forecast Viewed

MK2506103093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 Jun 93 p 2

[Oleg Polukeyev report under the "Government" rubric: "Finance Ministry Takes Stock of Six-Month Performance"]

[Text] The Russian Ministry of Finance has come up with its own forecast for the third quarter. According to figures contained in a press release distributed among Moscow's leading newspapers yesterday, the country's financial position may pick up over the coming three months with the monthly inflation rate dropping below 15 percent. The interest rate on centralized credits is expected to rise, by as early as mid-July, to between 150 and 160 percent a year, coming close to that in a market economy. The ministry forecasts that rubles will be more attractive and that demand for them will grow. It also predicts a tougher government and Central Bank policy toward trading and services available for foreign currency (dollarization).

The ruble rate against the dollar has entered a stage of relative stability and is likely to hover at 1,100 rubles per one dollar. Big sums of foreign currency are expected to hit the market through the end of the year, enabling the rate possibly to approach purchasing-power parity. Up to $14 billion has accumulated in bank accounts in Russia. There is a tendency toward a reduction in capital flight.

The remarkable thing is not so much the forecast itself—it rather projects hope for a financial stabilization so needed by the economy—but the fact that the government has advertised its intentions yet one more time. Still, one can hardly go along with the claim that $14 billion in Russian bank accounts will be channeled by their holders to bring the dollar rate closer to purchasing-power parity. The opposite is more likely—as in the past, banks will use hard currency to get away from inflation, and the bigger of them will try to increase their incorporation funds as much as they can. In this situation, the recommendations to enterprises contained in the last paragraph of the Russian Federation Finance Ministry press release appear more than appropriate. And unrealizable.

Government Said Not Keeping Promises on Wages

LD2506210993 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Text] The Russian tripartite commission set up to regulate social and labor relations, which met in Moscow on 25 June, noted that the government was not fulfilling its resolution of April to raise category one wage rates in sectors funded from the budget to 4,500 rubles, and that the Russian Federation law fixing the minimum wage at 4,275 rubles was not being observed either. Describing the situation as disastrous, members of the commission demanded that arrangements be made by 10 July to ensure that organizations and institutions funded from the budget were financed fully on the basis of the new minimum wage levels.

Admittedly, ITAR-TASS notes, it was only the trade unions and entrepreneurs who urged a swift settlement to this acute problem, whereas the government side did not want to tie themselves to a specific date.

Entrepreneurs Urge Government To Liberalize Tax Policy

MK2606104093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 26 Jun 93 p 3

[Nikolay Chernykh report in "Congress on Small and Medium-Sized Business" column: "Businessmen Hope for a Change in Entrepreneurial Climate in Russia"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Participants in a congress on small and medium-sized businesses are expecting big opportunities for the development from the implementation of small-scale privatization plans. According to State Property Management Committee [Goskomimushchestvo] estimates, commercial structures are primarily interested in facilities worth under 50 million rubles, in which they would be able to participate effectively in managing the privatized property. This is shown particularly by the fact that by now out of 92,500 small state enterprises, approximately 50,000 have been privatized, with 54 percent of them sold off for private ownership. [passage omitted]

Participation by Russian entrepreneurs in the large-scale privatization process is complicated by a shortage of financial resources. According to Russian Vice Premier Anatoliy Chubays, who addressed the congress, the second stage of privatization could be invigorated by creating an international fund for the support of privatization in Russia. This fund could be raised with the financial resources of some of the leading countries. The proposal for creating such a fund was made by the U.S. administration, and at the G-7 meeting in July a final decision on its creation should be expected. If a positive decision is made, Russian entrepreneurs can count on financial support in the amount of $4 billion. The most noteworthy fact about this fund is that all financial resources will be designed to be used solely by privatized enterprises.

After the congress, Russian First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko held a press conference where he defined the main lines of government activity in supporting entrepreneurship. The main task, in his opinion, is to cut inflation drastically, to between 5 and 7 percent a month by the end of 1993. Furthermore, according to Shumeyko, it is necessary to revise the legislation and enforceable enactments regulating entrepreneurial activity, and primarily simplify the procedure of creating legal entities by merely filing a declaration [zayavitelnyy poryadok]. At the same time the government's possibilities for developing this economic sphere are rather limited by the existing legislation, especially insofar as taxation is concerned. Shumeyko closed his press conference on a pessimistic note, saying that with the present composition of the Supreme Soviet there is not much hope that Russia's tax system will be liberalized any time soon.

[Article is accompanied by following boxed passage]

The Congress' recommendations to the Russian Government:

To create in the near future an all-Russia center for entrepreneurship and a federal chamber of private entrepreneurs.

The resources of the federal foundation for the support of entrepreneurship, including the 25 billion rubles allocated for 1993, should mainly be used for insurance purposes.

To drastically revise, toward further liberalization, tax and credit-financial policy, and consider the question of adopting regulatory acts "On Taxing Small and Medium-Sized Businesses in Russia" and "On the Legal Status of the Small Enterprise."

Yeltsin Edict on Coal Industry Stabilization

PM2906092993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 26 Jun 93 First Edition p 12

[Edict No. 934 of the Russian Federation President "On Measures To Stabilize the Situation in the Coal Industry," dated 21 June 1993, the Kremlin, Moscow and signed by Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin]

[Text] In order to stabilize the situation in the coal industry and provide hard currency to finance measures to modernize and reequip existing industrial capacities for the production, processing, and transportation of coal and also to provide for urgent social needs in Russia's coal regions, I decree that:

1. As of 1 July 1993 coal-extraction and coal-processing enterprises are to be released from the obligation to sell hard currency earned from exports of coal and coal products supplied in excess of approved volumes of supplies for state needs.

2. The Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government has a month to remove coal from the list of individual commodities subject to export duties when exported from the territory of the Russian Federation;

a register is to be established of importable mining and transport equipment, spare parts, and components which are not produced or are produced in limited quantities in the Russian Federation and which are excluded from the list of individual commodities subject to import duties when imported into the Russian Federation.

3. The Russian Federation Economics Ministry, Russian Federation Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, and Russian Federation Minstry of Fuel and Power are to be given in the current year in accordance with the established procedure extra quotas and licenses for exports of around 5 million tonnes of coking coal in excess of the agreed volumes of extraction and supply to the CIS states and other states.

4. The Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government is to exclude coking coal as of 1 January 1994 from the list of commodities subject to quotas and licenses when being exported from the Russian Federation.

5. As of 1 July 1993 a switch is to be made to the use of free (market) prices for coal and coal products.

6. The Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government is to make changes to the procedure for budget subsidies for the coal industry and establish fixed subsidy rates.

7. The Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government has three months to elaborate and approve a program to reorganize and upgrade mines and open pits and indicate the sources of finance.

8. The Russian Federation Ministry of Fuel and Power is to be responsible for monitoring the implementation of point 1 of this edict.

[Signed] Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin

[Dated] Kremlin, Moscow, 21 June 1993

Commission Formed To Develop Privatization Plan

LD2606151993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0945 GMT 26 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 26 Jun—The Russian Federation Government has adopted a decision on forming a commission to "develop an alternative version of the concept for implementing industrial policy in the process of privatizing state property." It is to be headed by Mikhail Yuryev, vice president of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs. An instruction signed by Oleg Soskovets, first deputy government chairman, instructs the commission to present a concept and drafts for the appropriate normative acts to the Council of Ministers within three weeks.

Bank Chief Views Factors Behind Ruble Stabilization

PM2806144193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 26 Jun 93 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report under "Finance" rubric citing Aleksandr Khandruyev, deputy chairman of the Central Bank of Russia: "We Are Starting To Gain Control of the Situation in the Currency Sphere"]

[Text] We have recently been observing a relatively prolonged stabilization of the ruble in the currency market. Moreover the dollar rate against the ruble is steadily, albeit slowly, falling. What is behind this phenomenon?

Certainly there is an element of market fluctuation here, but in my view we are also seeing the first signs that we are starting to gain control of the situation in the currency sphere. In recent months we have stopped the sharp fluctuations in the ruble rate by expanding the size of the currency market, tightening currency controls, and introducing import duties which have cut down on currency changing. The fact that we now have a positive foreign trade balance has also played a part. The pursuit of a tighter budgetary and monetary policy in the first half of the year has also contributed to the ruble's stabilization. That is, we are seeing an overall effect that allows us a slender hope that a new trend has emerged, and our task is to see that it develops into a stable trend.

We are now in a phase of economic reform in which a whole range of enterprises and sectors of industry have started to adapt to the new conditions to some degree. They are already learning to work under conditions of more severe budget and credit restrictions and trying to find solutions that enable them to get their bearings in this very difficult situation. Each new hike in inflation will no longer lead inevitably to a twist in the price spiral, because selling products will become a problem.

I estimate that the behavior of the market, particularly prices and the ruble exchange rate, will develop on the basis of the combined effect of a whole series of factors. It is the main task of the Government and the Central Bank, working in harness, to manipulate those factors in a capable manner.

Interest Hike Linked to Bank's Pact With Government

PM2506103193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

[Ivan Zhagel report: "Central Bank Has Increased Interest Rates for Its Credit"]

[Text] On 22 June the Central Bank of Russia raised interest rates for the central credits it offers to commercial banks from 110 to 120 percent.

Thus the Central Bank leadership has taken yet another step toward fulfilling the recent agreement with the Russian Government. I will remind you that this agreement stipulates that by 15 July the refinancing interest rates—that is, the interest rates for central credits—must be brought as close as possible to the level which exists on the interbank market, thereby halting the process of pumping money into the economy.

Admittedly, at present no economist could calculate the average price of commercial credits in Russia. Interest rates on the interbank market depend up the purposes for which the money is borrowed, on the regions where the banks operate, and on a multitude of other factors.

Many experts fear that the rise in the refinancing interest rates may result not only in restricted demand for central credit—it is this, frankly speaking, which everybody is seeking—but that it may also push up the cost of credits on the interbank market, which will kill off long-term investment in Russia altogether.

Incidentally, Central Bank experts already spy encouraging signs here, namely: When the refinancing interest rate rose to 80 percent, the price of commercial bank credits rose very sharply. When the Central Bank's interest rate topped 100 percent, the interbank market reacted with a smaller surge. So it can be hoped that these indicators will eventually come closer together, and that one will not be forever driving the other upward.

Monthly Inflation Estimated To Reach 40 Percent

MK2506113093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No 28, 25 Jun 93 (signed to press 24 Jun 93) p 3

[ADS-signed report: "EPI Center Predicts Inflation To Reach Peak in Fall"]

[Text] The Economic and Political Research Center (EPI Center) has made a forecast regarding the rates at which production would shrink and inflation rise up to the end of 1993. According to its calculations, in July the slump in production will reach between 45 and 50 percent compared to 1989, and inflation will peak in August-October to reach 40 percent a month. Asked by your ADS correspondent to comment on these figures, Grigoriy Yavlinskiy said that in addition to the disarray in which the country's monetary system has found itself, there is an inflation-fueling mechanism built into the Russian economy. It reacts instantaneously to the seasonal cycles of production activity related to the purchasing and processing of agricultural produce. Currently, Yavlinskiy said, we have entered a period of a seasonal production slump, which has its lowest point in June. By the year's end, once raw materials from the new harvest are forthcoming, production will pick up somewhat, and we will reach the level of 60 percent compared to 1989. Inflation will swell in the fall. The reason for this is that the state, while forming its grain reserves, will pay a large amount of money to agricultural producers toward future deliveries at one time, and this money will be immediately released into the market.

Glazyev on Corruption, Need for Export Controls

PM2806154793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 Jun 93 First Edition p 3

[Article by Sergey Glazyev, minister of foreign economic relations: "There Are Forces Which Oppose the Creation of Currency and Export Controls"]

[Text] A lot is being said about corruption. Those who want to fight it cannot be counted. But the overwhelming majority of the population sees it as something belonging to another world. Let us open any textbook, any legal manual. We read there more or less as follows: Corruption is bribery, the venality of public and political figures and officials. Naturally, the implication is capitalist society, because corruption was viewed a priori as a phenomenon alien to the socialism which was being built in our country. Yet it was under the conditions of the totalitarian state that it existed and was invulnerable thanks to the fact that the top statesmen and government structures which held material benefits in their hands existed outside any control.

Since Stalin's time the situation was such that neither the prosecutor's office nor in particular the deputies would even think of coming to the Kremlin to conduct a check. Many abuses were concealed that way. To this day access to government documents and various decrees and directives is complicated. They are all strictly for internal use. Dozens or even hundreds of letters were sent by the specially created parliamentary commission to obtain elementary information confirming or refuting criminal facts. But the commission did not always receive a reply and those who are summoned most often did not appear at the commission's sessions to explain themselves.

Yet in a democratic state parliament can hear any official and remove him from his duties. It is a case of the actual possibility of concealing something from the legislators and misinforming them. Everyone can remember the story of the clashes between the U.S. Congress and president. How many times Congress investigated the affairs of the president and people close to the president gave public explanations! In our country this is as yet simply impossible.

Let us think: Why is the authority of representative organs of power in ensuring legality and order so high throughout the world? Because they counter corruption everywhere? For the mafiosi there is nothing more terrible than to be put in the spotlight by a parliament commission. But is that the real reason pushing individual politicians to abolish the organs of power elected by the people? They are terrified by independent monitoring. Yet the situation which is taking shape in Russia attests to how essential that monitoring is.

In 1992 internal affairs organs alone uncovered over 6,000 crimes connected with the illegal export of strategic raw materials. Sixty percent involved nonferrous metals, one case in six involved timber, and one case in seven involved petroleum products. The thefts are usually perpetrated by stable criminal groupings which have support in power and management structures. And 6,260 people who directly traded in strategic materials were uncovered. They include 1,109 officials and 388 representatives of small enterprises, brokerage firms, and other commercial structures. Damage to the tune of tens of billions of rubles has been caused. However, criminal proceedings were instituted against only a handful.

Taking cover behind the need to resolve regional problems, the heads of administration of certain regions of Russia seek the allocation of additional quotas for the export of raw material resources, relying on connections in the government. The money, including hard currency, is spent on purchasing household equipment, consumer goods, and foreign cars.

For instance, the Yekaterinburg Internal Affairs Administration stopped the export to Lithuania and Germany of a large consignment of copper via forged licenses. The "Bolshoy Ural" corporation exported 225 tonnes of aluminum to Germany, supposedly in exchange for deliveries of mixed feed. But in fact the corporation got cars. At the same time it tried to export to the Baltic 90 tonnes of high-grade aluminum worth 1.5 million rubles in the guise of waste.

There are also many unsolved problems with the reexport of Russia's raw material resources. Thus Ukraine has resold to Germany over one-third of the oil received from Russia. A huge quantity of oil has ended up in Belgium thanks to commercial structures in Belarus and Ukraine.

During its activity the parliamentary commission discovered that the greatest abuses take place in the sphere of foreign economic activity in our country. The Central

Bank, Finance Ministry, and Bank for Foreign Economic Relations have no data on currency movements.

At one session the commission discussed the question of implementing the concept of Russia's foreign economic links from the viewpoint of the existing losses and damage to the Russian Federation's economic security and of precluding them in the practical activity of the Russian Federation Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations.

Who specifically benefits from the lack of currency and export controls in Russia?

I can reply as follows: "The president's edict on forming a currency control inspectorate was published 30 December 1991. But it was not set up. Nor was the edict of 11 April 1992 on measures to create export controls in the Russian Federation fulfilled. But the government should answer for this. There are forces there that opposed the creation of these services."

Astonishing things are happening in our homeland today. Thieving and dishonest people are honored, and those who refuse to tolerate swindles and the causing of losses to the state are in disfavor.

Supreme Soviet

Motion Protesting U.S. Bombing of Iraq To Be Viewed

LD2906095693 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0900 GMT 29 Jun 93

[Text] An issue regarding the bombardment in Iraq has been included on the agenda of today's session of the Soviet of the Republic of the Russian parliament. It is being examined on the proposal of Vladimir Isakov, one of the leaders of the parliamentary opposition, who has drawn up a draft statement for the chamber. It expresses a protest against the action of international violence carried out by the United States of America.

Soviet of Republic Calls For Nuclear Test Moratorium

PM2506085593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 Jun 93 First Edition p 1

[Statement No. 5212-1 of Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Republic "On Moratorium on Nuclear Tests"]

[Text] In October 1992 with the accession of France and the United States to the moratorium on nuclear tests announced by Russia a real prospect was opened up for the conclusion of a treaty on a total ban on nuclear tests which are used as a means of improving weapons of mass destruction, cause considerable damage to the health of the world's population and to the environment, and divert large material and financial assets.

But despite the numerous appeals from the public and the Russian people's deputies despite the intention of the Russian and U.S. presidents, announced in Vancouver in April 1993, to begin talks in the very near future on this problem of vital importance to mankind, they have still not begun.

It is obvious that certain forces are seeking to thwart the agreements which have been reached and to launch a new stage of nuclear tests.

This a dangerous threat to the world, the threat of the destruction of the nuclear weapons nonproliferation treaty, which expires in 1995.

Under these conditions we again appeal to the parliaments of the nuclear states—the United States, Britain, France, and China—asking them to hold a working meeting of parliamentarians to elaborate a program of actions aimed at preventing another spiral of the nuclear arms race.

We support Russian Federation President B.N. Yeltsin's position regarding Russia's readiness to extend the moratorium beyond 1 July 1993 if the United States does not resume its tests.

We have the opportunity of halting the nuclear madness. It is the duty of the parliaments and governments of the nuclear states not to let slip this historic chance.

[Signed] The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Republic

[Dated] Moscow, House of Soviets of Russia, 17 June 1993

International Working Meeting Urged

LD2806104093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0955 GMT 28 Jun 93

[ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow, 28 Jun (TASS)—The Soviet of the Republic, one of the two equal chambers of the Russian parliament, issued a statement today proposing that the parliaments of the nuclear states—the United States, Great Britain, France, and China—"should hold a working meeting of parliamentarians to draw up a program of actions designed to avert another spiral in the arms race".

Presenting this document to reporters, Aleksandr Veshnyakov, chairman of the parliamentary subcommittee on information science and space, warned that by 1995 the nuclear club could have as many as 20 member states.

The statement by the Soviet of the Republic stresses that in spite of the moratorium, "certain forces" are aspiring to "launch a fresh round of nuclear tests." The statement expresses support for Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin's position regarding Russia's readiness to extend the moratorium beyond 1 July 1993, if the United States does not resume testing.

Committee Holds News Conference

LD2806223493 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1950 GMT 28 Jun 93

[By Yelena Ozrina from Supreme Soviet proceedings; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The committee for international affairs and foreign economic relations is holding a news conference. It is devoted to, what is in my view, a very important issue: to the moratorium on nuclear tests. Before the start of the news conference an appeal of the deputies of the Russian Federation on the moratorium on nuclear tests was handed out to journalists, as well as an article from this year's May issue of the newspaper SPASENIYA [Salvation]. We have tested 2,000 nuclear bombs. It is time to stop.

[Unidentified spokesman] All in all, in the world during the 48 postwar years the contingent of nuclear states has, according to the information of the Ministry for Atomic Energy of the Russian Federation, exploded 2,074 nuclear charges: the United States—1,093, the Soviet Union—715, France—188, Great Britain—43, China—35. Over the last 30 years, and precisely this year, in August, we shall mark the 30th anniversary of the treaty banning nuclear explosions in the atmosphere, the air, and under water; explosions have only be carried out under ground.

I think there is no need at this time for me to report on the consequences that we have from nuclear explosions. Many of them are already known, and many still have not been studied. As a rule, nuclear explosions are used to improve weapons of mass destruction and cause considerable damage to the health of the Earth's population, the environment, and divert huge material and financial means. As an independent state, Russia has not carried out a single nuclear explosion. The last explosion at the testing ground in the Novaya Zemlya archipelago, and now that is Russia's central testing ground—that is what it is called—was carried out on 24 October, 1990.

On 26 October, 1991, the Russian President announced a moratorium on nuclear tests to which—thanks to the appeal of the Sixth Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation as well, France and the United States became a party in the autumn of last year. The period that the moratorium is in effect was extended, by Russia included, until 1 July 1993. Officially Great Britain and the People's Republic of China did not announce a moratorium, but in actual fact they are not carrying out nuclear explosions either. Thus, we had and still have real prospects for concluding an international treaty on the total banning of nuclear explosions. This is the first time that such a situation has taken shape in the world. In September 1992 Nikolay Timofeyevich Ryabov, the chairman of a parliamentary group of the Russian Federation, appealed to the heads of parliament of the nuclear states with the proposal that a working meeting of parliamentarians should be held to discuss this problem. Unfortunately we received a negative reply from the Chinese side in that period. The United States, with its election campaign and other political and internal events, hardly gave any reply. The position of Great Britain is largely determined by the United States, since it does not have its own nuclear testing ground, as you know. The French side expressed a willingness to attend such a meeting.

On 3 and 4 April 1993, in Vancouver the presidents of Russia and the United States agreed that the talks on banning nuclear tests should start in the very near future. But, as I have already mentioned, there are only a few days left until 1 July 1993, and the talks for the sake of which, properly speaking, a moratorium was needed, have simply not started.

In the next few days the Clinton administration—and it has already been putting this off for several months now—is planning to submit a proposal to Congress of the United States, its proposal on nuclear tests. A wide range of variants are being examined. One of them was even that a nuclear explosion should be carried out on 28 June. Now that is no longer feasible. There was a variant on carrying out tests until 2001, lowering the threshold to one kilotonne. There is a proposal on having a moratorium as well.

Mityukov Cited on Dissolution of Legislation Committee

LD2806131493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1146 GMT 28 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow, 28 Jun—"The Russian parliament is going through the most serious crisis," Mikhail Mityukov, head of the parliamentary legislation committee disbanded last week, told the ITAR-TASS correspondent. "Authoritarian methods exercised by the parliamentary leadership," he said, "mean that even the Russian Federation Constitutional Court acknowledges that some of the Supreme Soviet decisions are unconstitutional. At present the parliamentary leadership geared up for the confrontation with the executive power, is taking a range of measures which are forcing some members of parliament to raise the question of no confidence vote." Mikhail Mityukov took an extremely negative view of the reorganization of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet legislation committee. He said the disintegration of the Union parliament also began with the reorganization of a similar committee. Concerning the vote which led to the disbandment of the committee, Mikhail Mityukov suggested the voting results had been rigged.

Irregularities Suspected in Vote

LD2806192893 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1430 GMT 28 Jun 93

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Ruvinskiy] We know perfectly well what results can be expected when heads of Supreme Soviet committees who spoke out against the chairman of the Supreme Soviet report on the work of their committees.

[Announcer] As Aleksandr Pochinok put it in a television interview, it is a shoot down.

[Ruvinskiy] Yes, this happened to Mityukov, whose committee [Supreme Soviet Committee for Legislation] was simply disbanded. Incidentally, quite interesting details have come to light here. At the time the issue was put to the vote and the resolution to disband the committee was passed with just a two-vote majority. The voting was by roll-call. Because of that we have been able to establish the names of those who voted in favor of disbanding the committee. Many of those whose names appear on the list were perplexed, since at the time they had been far away from Moscow, on business trips. Therefore, someone must have voted for them by proxy. How this could have happened is anybody's guess.

So there has already been a proposal to start an inquiry into the incident and at least to call a fresh vote. Because if the majority was just two votes, while several people appearing on the list did not actually take part in the voting, it is obvious the results could have been quite different. It is not known what the decision on the issue will be, but I know that some people's deputies, including Mityukov himself, intend to raise it at the next plenary sitting in order to hold a fresh vote. We will have to see what the outcome of it all will be.

Dissolution Seen as Khasbulatov Victory

PM2906085793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Jun 93 p 2

[Sergey Chugayev report under the "Events and Comments" rubric: "Russian Supreme Soviet Abolishes Its Committee on Legislation. The Witch-Hunt Against the Opposition Continues in Parliament"]

[Text] For almost two and a half hours at the evening session 24 June, the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet listened to and discussed a report delivered by M. Mityukov, chairman of the Committee on Legislation. The discussion resulted in the committee's being dissolved and transformed into two newly formed parliamentary structures—the Committee for Constitutional Legislation and the Committee for Judicial Reform and Current Legislation.

Everything that happened during the hearings fully justifies the conclusion that the campaign of political reprisals against dissenting voices is gaining force in the parliament. Today, judging by M. Mityukov's fate, it is not just the democrats but even the classic centrists who are being placed in this category in the Supreme Soviet. In a word, it is all those who do not share the views and stances of the Russian Unity bloc, of which R. Khasbulatov has essentially become the leader.

From the viewpoint of professional activity, objectively speaking the positions of the Committee on Legislation looked virtually irreproachable. It was one of the most important Supreme Soviet committees, and it would be no exaggeration to consider it a record-holder among committees and commissions in terms of elaborating various legislative acts. As a matter of fact, none of Mityukov's opponents—and that includes R. Khasbulatov—ventured to dispute this fact.

At the same time, it was possibly the first occasion in the Russian Supreme Soviet on which the true reason for the attack on a committee and its chairman was so openly exposed. Deputy N. Pavlov expressed himself most accurately on this score, saying that he was not assessing M. Mityukov's activity as a lawyer, but that he believed that the latter should be removed from his post for political reasons. Because, according to N. Pavlov, the chairman of the Committee on Legislation was not pursuing the line supported by most of the deputies.

R. Khasbulatov also actively courted Mityukov's opponents. He also made it fairly clear that the reprisal against the chairman of the committee is happening precisely because, in the speaker's opinion, M. Mityukov "occupies the stance of those who want to dissolve the representative authority."

All the indications are that R. Khasbulatov's supporters had made serious preparations to abolish the committee and remove M. Mityukov from the Supreme Soviet Presidium. Four options for abolition were presented for examination by the parliament, ranging from the basic method of removing M. Mityukov from the post or declaring the committee's work unsatisfactory to the more refined one of dividing the committee into a committee and several commissions—which would have meant electing new leaders for the new formations.

The parliament must be given its due: Despite pressure from R. Khasbulatov, it stood its ground and rejected all four options. This caused acute irritation to R. Khasbulatov, who had promised to submit the question of the Committee on Legislation to the next congress. Maybe the promise made the right impression. And the proposal made just at the right moment by N. Tikhonov to divide the Committee on Legislation into two committees secured the necessary majority of votes in the end.

R. Khasbulatov has fully achieved his aim. The Committee on Legislation no longer exists in the parliament, and M. Mityukov has been removed from the list of Supreme Soviet Presidium members.

More on Vote-Rigging Allegations

LD2906112893 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 0730 GMT 29 Jun 93

[Report by parliamentary correspondent Ruvinskiy from the Supreme Soviet]

[Text] [Ruvinskiy] I would like to tell you about an interesting statement that has been disseminated today as an official document. This is a statement by a pretty large group of people's deputies. It relates how, on 24 June, at the joint evening session of the Soviet of the Republic and the Soviet of Nationalities, the chairperson put to a vote a proposal from a deputy to re-organize the Legislation Committee. The committee was essentially disbanded following this vote, and what is more, the vote in favor won by just 1 percent, or two votes. But, when the results of the voting were checked, it turned out that many of the deputies who were registered as having voted in favor of disbanding the committee did not actually take part in the vote at all. Furthermore, many—or some of them, at any rate—were not even in Moscow at the time, and some were not even in Russia. So, the deputies on the Legislation Committee have questioned the validity of this vote, denied its effectiveness, and described it as a crude falsification.

This is what happened: The discussion of the issue was declared closed. Many deputies simply left the hall, and then the chair put this issue to a vote again, because the previous proposal had not been passed. So, those who were still in the hall just used the cards that the deputies had left behind and voted on their behalf. Rather an interesting procedure the Supreme Soviet was using there. And this is evidently not the first time such a thing has happened.

[Announcer] The Soviet of the Republic rejected a proposal to discuss this matter again this morning, but it may be debated at tomorrow's plenary session or submitted to the Constitutional Court. Ruvinskiy comments that previous requests for declaring votes invalid have been unsuccessful, but on this occasion, since the members of the Legislation Committee are professional lawyers, they will not let it go unnoticed.

Khasbulatov Tells Pochinok To Keep Out of Politics

LD2606170393 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 26 Jun 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Parliamentary speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov had an hour-long talk today with Budget Commission Chairman Aleksandr Pochinok. Pochinok was instructed to stop engaging in politics or else the parliamentary leadership would find another chairman for the commission. In an interview for an Ekho Moskvy correspondent, Aleksandr Pochinok declared that committee chairmen were now being put in the firing line on political grounds.

Parliamentary 24 Jun Session Called 'Vast Rally'

PM2906080393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

[Yuriy Feofanov article: "Performance in Parliament With Sound Effects"—all quotation marks as published]

[Text] A vast rally took place at the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet 24 June devoted to unmasking those guilty of corruption and embezzlement. INTERFAX reported: "Concrete accusations were made against Russian First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko and Federal Information Center [FIC] Chairman Mikhail Poltoranin, along with a number of other top Russian officials in the report by a special commission from the Russian Federation General Prosecutor's Office investigating material linked with corruption among officials. At the session Nikolay Makarov, Russian Federation first deputy general prosecutor, delivered a report produced by the commission of six independent prosecutors. The commission analyzed material handed to the General Prosecutor's Office by Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy and by a special commission of the Congress of People's Deputies, along with press reports. A number of facts cited in Aleksandr Rutskoy's 16 April report were, according to Makarov, corroborated."

One after another the devotees of the platform and the microphone took up the tools of their trade with tremendous enthusiasm and total unanimity to bad-mouth the vile schemes harbored by participants in the Kremlin conference who have conceived the idea of formulating a new Russian Federation Constitution.

"The Supreme Soviet's official representative, the agency reported, that is, Russian parliamentary speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov, 'cannot take part in the Constitutional Conference as long as people under investigation are taking part in it.' This idea was put forward during the speech given by Vladimir Ispravnikov, deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, at the end of the debate on the report given by Nikolay Makarov, Russian first deputy general prosecutor. In his view, deputies should not take part in the Constitutional Conference either. He recalled that many people named in the deputy general prosecutor's report are not only taking part in the Constitutional Conference but also hold leadership posts. Stressing that 'the new constitution should be produced by unsullied hands,' Ispravnikov asked for an appropriate address to be sent to the Constitutional Conference. A working group is currently formulating a draft document."

A unanimous vote was held under the slogan "The Russian Constitution should be produced by unsullied hands." The result was 168 "for," two "against," and seven abstentions. United by the great idea of wrecking the Constitutional Conference, a plenary session of which is to be held 26 June, people's deputies declared themselves the sole repositories and guarantors of legality and law and order on the vast territory of our motherland.

In this connection the following question arises: How can the law and order guaranteed by the Supreme Soviet be coordinated with the following report?

"INTERFAX learned from informed sources in law-enforcement organs that no official charges of criminal actions have as yet been made against Russian First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko and FIC Chairman Mikhail Poltoranin. They have not been questioned as suspects or defendants."

The said circumstance put the rally in the Russian parliament hall in a difficult position. However, timid attempts by some people's deputies who proposed that everything should first be investigated before anyone was withdrawn and dismissed, as well as a statement by a people's representative that a colleague had voted on his behalf, were suppressed by the parliamentary speaker, who called for a unanimous and correct vote.

The guarantors of legality and law and order should face another question: How and from which cadres was it possible to form a group "of six INDEPENDENT prosecutors," and is the top official, Deputy General Prosecutor N. Makarov, among the six "independent" men? If this group exists, should it not be put on the State Committee for the State of Emergency case, which has come to a standstill owing to a lack of independent prosecutors?

In this connection there is also a threat to the parliamentary rally's resolution, adopted with enthusiasm and unanimity. Whereupon INTERFAX continues:

"Sergey Baburin, a leader of the 'Russian Unity' faction opposition bloc, pointed out that 'the prosecutor's office will never conclude the investigation into these cases as long as not only First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko but also many other people are in power'."

The misgivings are more than well founded. When the aforementioned Shumeyko appears in court to answer for all his intrigues and crimes, the defense will probably say that the special parliamentary commission, and indeed parliament as a whole, which has jurisdiction over the prosecutor's office, have by their resolution predetermined the wording of the indictment and the sentence itself. Say what you will, the legislative body has nonetheless adopted a resolution that contravenes the principles of the law and the Constitution itself, Article 65 of which says: "Everyone accused of a criminal offense is considered innocent until proven guilty in accordance with legally envisaged procedure and until that guilt is established by the legally valid sentence of a competent independent, impartial court." In order to keep "constitutional legality" in the unsullied state that the parliament is so concerned about, the latter has no other option than to adopt a law excluding the intriguer Shumeyko from this general rule, but that is not a problem, since our parliament "is capable of anything."

I would very much like to believe that the Constitutional Conference, having eliminated the absurd conflict of its first day, will proceed smoothly and constructively. That has been the case. However, there is the nagging doubt: Things cannot be that serene. Will the president and his team really muster the patience to seek a compromise? Will the parliament's leaders restrain their arrogance and embark on accord for the sake of Russia's future? It would be too good were everything to happen like that. Regrettably, my belief did not come true and the doubts were realized. The day before the second plenary session the parliament detonated a "bomb" and fragments of compromising material flew purposively in the direction of the Constitutional Conference.

Remember the performance staged before the referendum when Aleksandr Vladimirovich [Rutskoy] detonated 11 cases of firecrackers? Even though he is a statesman and vice president, he is nonetheless a dashing general. Now a legislator has done the same thing. It was he after all who declared himself a contender for the undivided right to adopt the Russian State's fundamental law.

I would like to believe that the effect of the parliamentary rally 24 June will be the same as Rutskoy's firecrackers. But all the accusations do of course have to be investigated—legally and by legal bodies. Only who then is to adopt the Constitution?

Parliament Decree Urges Dismissal of Shumeyko, Poltoranin

PM2806115993 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 26 Jun 93 p 1

["Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Decree on Report by N.N. Makarov, Russian Federation First Deputy General Prosecutor and Head of Special Commission of Russian Federation General Prosecutor's Office on Incidents of Corruption on the Part of Senior Officials of Russian Federation," signed by Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Chairman R.I. Khasbulatov]

[Text] Having heard the report of N.N. Makarov, head of the Special Commission of the Russian Federation General Prosecutor's Office, on incidents of corruption among senior officials of the Russian Federation, the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. To take cognizance of the report by N.N. Makarov, head of the Special Commission of the Russian Federation General Prosecutor's Office, on abuse of office and corruption on the part of a number of officials of the Russian Federation;

2. To express no-confidence in Vladimir Filippovich Shumeyko, first deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government, and Mikhail Nikiforovich Poltoranin, chairman of the Russian Federation Federal Information Center, and to propose that the Russian Federation president immediately remove them from their positions in connection with the institution of criminal proceedings on charges of corruption.

3. To instruct the Special Commission of the Russian Federation Prosecutor's Office (Comrade N.I. Makarov) to verify the legality of the directives of First Vice Premier Shumeyko on granting privileges in the sphere of foreign economic activity and the distribution of material and financial resources.

[Signed] Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Chairman R.I. Khasbulatov

Parliamentary Proceedings for 25 Jun Summarized

PM2806145793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 26 Jun 93 First Edition p 1

[Report from Supreme Soviet sixth session by parliamentary observer Aleksey Vorobyev: "Political Games Instead of Action"]

[Text] The morning joint session of the Supreme Soviet began with the deputies expressing bewilderment at the actions of the "Ostankino" television company leadership. Despite the decision by parliament the day before on relaying the 24 June speech by First Deputy General Prosecutor N. Makarov on cases of corruption at the top and the discussion of the issue and despite the accords that were reached, it was not until after midnight that a recording of this part of the session was shown on television's Channel One. Naturally, most viewers did not see it.

The deputies demanded that the "Ostankino" board show the recording on Channel One on 25 June at a convenient time for viewers.

Then, in accordance with the agenda, the deputies listened to the report by the Committee on Industry and Energy. In his speech, its chairman, A. Yeremin, noted in particular that the committee has a clear-cut program to get the country out of the economic crisis and fully supports the president's and government's idea of making this year the year of the economy. But, unfortunately, the executive is still only talking about it and most of the government is involved in political games at the moment.

Many industrialists in the regions have found the government unresponsive to their requests and have now been forced to appeal to the Supreme Soviet committee. Even more alarming is the fact that the government sometimes brushes aside parliamentary resolutions and is bound up with implementing its own highly dubious ideas.

But the situation in industry bears little resemblance to the picture that is sometimes painted in the Kremlin and in Staraya Square. There has been no sign of stabilization in any sector in the first five months of the year and the situation is particularly serious in the light and timber and woodworking industries.

The Supreme Soviet chairman intervened in the debate, obviously extremely concerned about the information that had been conveyed.

"I do not like the way we discuss the activities of our structural components," Ruslan Khasbulatov said. "If everyone here in parliament is working satisfactorily, why is the situation in the country so bad?.. Let us adopt a more responsible approach to the organization of our labor and improve it more quickly."

He stressed that urgent steps must be taken to prepare a legislative base in the sphere of industrial policy and elaborate a law on criminal liability for abuses during privatization. Otherwise it will be impossible to avoid cases such as the electronics plant which cost $200 million to build and which is being valued at 50 million rubles [R] in the course of privatization.

The areas of committees' and commissions' activity must be identified and acted on: lawmaking, monitoring of the executive, and daily practical work with the regions. Most of the parliamentarians agreed with this. Cognizance was taken of the report by the Committee on Industry and Energy.

On deputy R. Smirnov's initiative, the session adopted a state request to Prime Minister V. Chernomyrdin for information, including an explanation for the Supreme Soviet of a number of treaties between Russia and the FRG and the French government. These treaties concern the mutual return of items of cultural value, the elaboration of proposals and of the procedure for adopting decisions on the return of items of cultural value that are on Russian territory but belong to foreign states, and also cooperation in the sphere of state archives and the return of archive documents. The deputies had serious grounds for concern that valuable cultural items and archives currently in Russia might largely be lost as a result of an inefficient procedure for their return and exchange with foreign states.

At the afternoon session the deputies adopted a Supreme Soviet appeal to the Russian Federation president and to the participants of the Constitutional Conference.

Endorses 1993 Budget

LD2806194893 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 28 Jun 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Today's session of the Supreme Soviet Presidium began with an impetuous report by Aleksandr Pochinok, chairman of the Budget Commission, on the government meeting held on 25 June, where the budget for the current year was finally endorsed. The government was sharply criticized for publishing this important document in the second half of the year. The speaker cited the budget deficit as the sorest point.

There then followed figures that were difficult to articulate, but the main thing is that there were no decisions leading to an expansion of budget outlays, perhaps with the exception of the Pension Fund and certain social payments.

On Wednesday 30 June at 1600 [1200 GMT] Finance Minister Boris Fedorov is to present this document for discussion at the Supreme Soviet. Incidentally, Fedorov was accused of circulating telegrams presenting the Supreme Soviet in the wrong light. So there will not be any holidays, Parliament Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov concluded.

Radio Assails 'Split' in Parliament

LD2806161493 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1110 GMT 28 Jun 93

[Commentary by Tatyana Ivanova; from the "Radio Parliament" program]

[Text] Even Russians who are unversed in politics have realized that the saga of the Constitutional Conference has ended—perhaps temporarily but clearly nevertheless—without achieving everything which the president and his team had hoped for. Why do I—and, incidentally, many of our listeners—come to this conclusion? The answer is very simple. A fresh, large-scale attack was launched on the Supreme Soviet over the weekend. This means that the warriors are through with one piece of business, and have now embarked on a new one.

It is no surprise that the split within the Supreme Soviet is being engineered by deputies themselves. We have already explained to you that many people's deputies who support the president so actively and openly are representatives of his administration and hold important posts in executive bodies. In other words, they are directly dependent on government leaders being well disposed toward them. We also know what happens to people who dare to have their own views. Rutskoy, Skokov and Boldyrev have all been sidelined. On the other hand, a significant group of deputies, who do nothing but criticize and hold rallies, have become more active. Clearly they are bored with drafting laws. Such work is inconspicuous and requires too much painstaking effort. You don't get to appear on television much. How much better to avoid the real work by sitting down at a Kremlin conference, where you don't have to account for anything. A lot of noise was made and various votes taken. Now it is time to make a noise in another place. And what a noise they are making.

For several days we have been hearing about a statement made by 50 deputies, a statement of no-confidence in Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of Russia's Supreme Soviet. This is an amazing business. A mere 50 deputies, whose names are not even revealed, sign this declaration and all the mass media eagerly repeat its text. Meanwhile, the Supreme Soviet adopts a decision on a live relay of the report on corruption in the top echelons of power by Russia's deputy procurator general, but the decision is not implemented. Furthermore, the recording of the speech is screened at the most inconvenient time, midnight. In order to get the speech repeated, the Supreme Soviet is obliged to adopt another decision. We have a strange understanding of democracy and performance of official duties in our country.

Our telephone has been incessantly ringing the whole time, even over the weekend. Listeners asked us to name the 50 deputies who signed the statement of no-confidence in the parliamentary leadership and to specify the constituencies from which they were elected. But I cannot answer these questions. The names of these 50 are not yet known at the Supreme Soviet. Listeners described the deputies who signed the statement as saboteurs—if you will pardon the expression. If they don't want to work, let them make way for others, was their message. There are plenty of clever and talented people in Russia. That is what listeners instructed me to pass on.

Regional Affairs

Chechen Opposition Leader on 'Criminal Regime'

LD2906090093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0722 GMT 29 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharil Asuyev]

[Text] Moscow, 29 Jun—Yaragi Mamadayev, the head of the Chechen opposition government, who is currently in Moscow, has accused Dzokhar Dudayev of "using Chechnya's national wealth to maintain and strengthen his criminal regime."

Yaragi Mamadayev's address to citizens of Chechnya, circulated today, says that General Dudayev and his entourage are using the many millions obtained from the sale of Chechen oil and oil-related products for there own selfish purposes.

Yaragi Mamadayev has called on all healthy forces in Chechnya to "unite in the struggle against Dudayev's dictatorial regime." "It is now or never—this is what it boils down to," the address says.

Nadterechnyy 'Stronghold' for Chechen Opposition

LD2506183793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1400 GMT 25 Jun 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] According to reports from Chechnya, Nadterechnyy rayon has become a stronghold for the opposition following its routing in Groznyy. The headquarters there is headed by Avtorkhanov, head of the rayon administration, and Bugayev, one of the opposition leaders. According to some reports, Soslanbekov, head of the republic's shadow parliament who was wounded during the recent clashes in Groznyy, is also located there.

Chechen Opposition To Get 'Revenge' on Poltoranin

MK2906083093 Moscow DEN in Russian No. 25, 27 Jun-3 Jul 93 p 1

[Report by DEN Analytical Center: "Blood Revenge on Poltoranin?"]

[Text] Between 30 May and 4 June Chechen Republic President Dzhokhar Dudayev spoke on the phone several times with Mikhail Poltoranin. According to confidential reports from Dzhokhar Dudayev's inner circle, Poltoranin assured the Chechen president that in the event of armed clashes between the president's loyalists and the opposition, Russian troops, including tank units, would be brought into the Chechen Republic in order "to stabilize the situation and to prop up President Dudayev."

As a result of the 4-5 June events, around 60 people died in Groznyy. At present, after Dudayev refused to attend an Islamic law trial, a spiral of revenge is being widened in Chechnya. Radicals from among those surrounding Beslan Gantemirov and Mustafa Edelbeyev ("Gulam") demand that blood revenge be taken on Dudayev's patrons in Moscow, particularly Poltoranin.

After 5 June and a temporary retreat of the opposition, Dzhokhar Dudayev's position still remains shaky. Given this, according to many Chechen teyp [clan] leaders, Dzhokhar Dudayev's agreement with his Moscow patron regarding the putting down of the anti- Dudayev opposition by force remains in place. According to some assessments, this may take place in the second half of July or in the first half of August.

A direct pretext for bringing in Russian troops is to be offered by a drastic deterioration of the Russians' plight in Groznyy. In the next few weeks, Dzhokhar Dudayev will try to dramatize the problem of the Russian population and to lay the blame for this on the opposition (primarily its three leaders—Avtorkhanov, Mamodayev, and Gantemirov). This will enable Dudayev's friends in Moscow to urge for an open military intervention into the conflict in the Chechen Republic.

The anti-Dudayev opposition is seriously bracing itself for a scenario involving the Russian Army's "military intervention." Some military leaders of the opposition claim that this option is even welcome, because in the event of guerrilla warfare Russian military units on Dudayev's side may sustain significant losses, especially among officers.

Yeltsin Decree on Reconstructing Novokuznetsk Works

LD2906110093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0817 GMT 29 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow, 29 Jun (ITAR-TASS)—President Boris Yeltsin of the Russian Federation [RF] has issued a decree "On the reconstruction of Novokuznetsk aluminum works." The document is aiming for a radical improvement of the ecological situation in the town of Novokuznetsk and improving the technical and economic performance indicators of the enterprise.

The press service of the head of state has stated that in accordance with the decree, it is planned to carry out the reconstruction of the works' electrolysis shop and increase its capacity in 1993-99. The work will be financed and imported technology purchased using the foreign currency earnings obtained from the export of 440,000 tonnes of aluminum which is also being permitted by this decree. In this connection the RF president has issued an instruction to government bodies to establish the apropriate quotas and ensure that aluminum export licences are issued.

Under the same decree Novokuznetsk aluminum works is being exempted from the compulsory resale of currency earnings from the export of the above-mentioned amount of aluminum on condition that the funds obtained are put into reconstruction of the enterprise. It is also being offered a deferment of the payment of customs duty on the import of the technological equipment.

Burbulis Meets Krasnoyarsk Businessmen

PM2906084193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

[Aleksey Tarasov report: "Capital's Reformers Have Begun Election Campaign in Regions"]

[Text] Krasnoyarsk—The election marathon is starting in the Russian provinces. On his arrival in Krasnoyarsk Gennadiy Burbulis, president of the "Strategiya" center for humanitarian and political sciences, gave his forecast for it at a meeting with businessmen:

"In the final analysis, the election campaign will inevitably form three blocs. Two of them are obvious—the revanchist bloc and the bloc of democratic-reformist forces. A bloc which I would call pragmatic will also certainly be formed."

His attitude toward the revanchist camp is clear: The old system cannot be restored. The neocommunists and national-bolsheviks have a place in Russia, I would say, only as a self-sufficient force with no social prospect. There will be parties, rallies, and small scandals, and behavior will be increasingly aggressive, but without the threat of turning society back toward totalitarianism. Pragmatists will evidently say the following with regard to the democrats: We are not going the same way as this power, which has exhausted itself. We, they will say, are people of action and professionals, not bibliophiles or revolutionary reformers. We are going into the elections telling voters that we will instill order in the economy and in the law-enforcement system and explaining, finally, our interests also in international relations.

I am convinced, Gennadiy Burbulis went on to say, that the end result of the election campaign will depend substantially on how opportunely and consciously the democratic-reformist wing itself initiates the formation of a pragmatic bloc and stimulates its activity. Democratically minded forces should go into the election campaign not thinking about a confrontation with pragmatists but coordinating efforts in the struggle for votes.

Confirming the clear thrust of the democratic forces' present activity toward forming an electoral bloc (it will be made legal within the next few days), Burbulis described the forms of possible cooperation between pragmatist entrepreneurs and the reformist bloc. Speaking about the forces grouping themselves around Konstantin Zatulin and Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, Burbulis remarked: "If they are just that pragmatic force, we must reach agreement with them without delay."

Unifying trends—precisely for the sake of political activity—have already been manifested among Krasnoyarsk's entrepreneurs. The "Third Force" bloc was created recently, and it intends to act in the political struggle in the name of entrepreneurs. I believe that the choice of Krasnoyarsk Kray by the "Strategiya" nongovernmental center (it largely creates the concept of an electoral bloc of reformist forces) as the starting point for an election campaign in the regions is probably justified.

In his statements on Krasnoyarsk soil Burbulis has repeatedly emphasized that Moscow's political forces have finally realized that their prospects depend on the support they receive in the regions. Opponents of the present power realized this much earlier—18 months ago, when Russia was only beginning reforms. It was then that the national-communist opposition opened the propaganda front in the struggle for the provinces, for the votes at the next elections of people far removed from politics. All the major figures of the "street opposition" and many from the parliamentary majority have been to Krasnoyarsk, following one another in continuous succession and making revealing statements. Addressing Siberian entrepreneurs, they have uttered many flattering words and promised to give priority to Russian, not foreign, businessmen after acceding to power.

The referendum showed the effectiveness of the opposition's propaganda activity. It certainly was not Yeltsin's supporters who won the elections held at the time for heads of local administrations in the krays, with the exception of Krasnoyarsk Kray.

At a final news conference Burbulis explained the interest of the democratic-reformist wing in entrepreneurs:

"The pragmatic electoral bloc is in need of clear ideological and political formalization. Correct and respectful, yet at the same time persistent, cooperation with it also depends on us. It is important not to swallow it up but to seek accord on positions which unite us—with regard to the Russian prospect and certain basic candidacies, including at regional level."

Moscow Poll Shows Little Support for Khasbulatov

PM2806083193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Jun 93 First Edition p 4

[Report by Lidiya Zenkova, deputy director of Institute of Sociology of Parliamentarianism: "How To Adopt Constitution: Muscovites Favor Referendum"]

[Text] The independent Institute of the Sociology of Parliamentarism has conducted a further weekly poll of a representative selection of 1,000 Muscovites. Here is what a comparative analysis has shown.

It is obvious that not only the difficulties or successes of market reforms determine how people feel in society. The important factors influencing mass sentiments include simply the summer and warm weather. This is confirmed by our constant measurements. Thus, the number of Muscovites dissatisfied with their lives has fallen somewhat today compared with January 1993, for example (72 percent in January, 66 percent in June). The number who are "satisfied with life" has increased from 22 to 29 percent. It is curious that the results of the latest poll coincide almost exactly with last year's "summer" indicators: In July 1992 29 percent of Muscovites were also "satisfied with life." The same is also characteristic of people's attitude to continuing price increases: Right now 31 percent of those polled believe that they are "impossible to bear" (against 41 percent in January 1993 and 31 percent in July 1992), while 50 percent assess the present prices situation as "difficult but bearable." For 15 percent of Muscovites the situation is "not as awful as it seemed," or it "suits them" (9 percent in January 1993, 10 percent in July 1992).

The summer and the time that has passed since the April referendum have evidently cooled the intensity of the voters' political activeness somewhat: The number of Muscovites who consider themselves politically active citizens has fallen substantially to match its former "average" value—12 percent; in April the figure was 21-23 percent. The central political event of June, however—the Constitutional Conference—was of interest to a significant proportion of Muscovites. Here 13 percent of those polled were satisfied with the conference's work, 17 percent were "dissatisfied," and 38 percent "found it hard to decide."

In the conflict between the present legislature and the president of Russia—probably the most dramatic event of the conference—the positions of Muscovite voters are as follows: 44 percent "side with B.N. Yeltsin," 7 percent "side with the deputies and the Supreme Soviet," 33 percent "side with no one," and 16 percent "find it hard to define" their attitude. At the same time 41 percent of Muscovites support the idea of strengthening the power of the president in Russia and abolishing the power of the soviets, 14 percent "do not support" this, 31 percent "find it hard to decide," and the remaining 14 percent either "know nothing about it" or "are not at all concerned about the problem."

The voters' political biases are undoubtedly connected also with the personal ratings of the president and the Supreme Soviet chairman. Thus, R. Khasbulatov's rating has fallen along with the drop in the level of public support for the present legislature (in January 21 percent did not support the idea of weakening the power of the soviets; in June the figure was just 14 percent). Today just 5 percent of Muscovites regard his activity "positively" or "with positive interest" (the lowest level of positive assessments since January 1992); "indifferently"—13 percent; "with some reservations" or "negatively"—69 percent. Precisely 46 percent of Muscovites rate B. Yeltsin's activity "positively" or "with positive interest," 9 percent regard it "indifferently," and 36 percent "with some reservations" or "negatively."

Despite the apparent "apoliticalness" (84 percent of Muscovites do not consider themselves politically active, 32 percent "know nothing about the work of the Constitutional Conference," etc.), a comparative majority of voters—43 percent—are disinclined to entrust the fate of the new constitution to anyone else and believe that it must be adopted in a nationwide referendum. A total of 20 percent of those polled favored having a Constituent Assembly adopt the constitution; 8 percent advocated the Congress of People's Deputies; 3 percent named "another" way; and 26 percent "found it hard to decide." Precisely 8 percent of those polled would like to introduce their own proposals into the draft of the constitution, with the majority of such amendments concerning social guarantees and protection for the rights of needy citizens.

This is no coincidence. Although Muscovites, on the whole, support President Yeltsin's position, the difficulties of everyday life reduce confidence in his economic policy. Today 36 percent of Muscovites believe in its success (43 percent in April), 47 percent "do not believe in it" (42 percent in April), and 17 percent "find it hard to define" their opinion.

Bryansk Soviet Votes To Abolish President's Representation

PM2906085793 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 June 93 p 1

[Anatoliy Grachev report: "Abolished"]

[Text] The president's representation in Bryansk Oblast has been abolished. An oblast soviet session has so decided. It had been heavily criticized in the press for its incompetence, ambitiousness, unethicalness, and shortsighted actions.

Udmurt Parliament Fails To Resolve Government 'Crisis'

PM2506163593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jun 93 First Edition p 4

[Boris Bronshteyn report: "Udmurtia: Government Goes Bankrupt, Premier Goes Gracefully"]

[Text] Izhevsk—For several days the Udmurt Republic parliament wrestled with the complex problem of what should be done with the government. Every day a new option for settling the government crisis arose: sending the entire government into retirement, removing just the Council of Ministers chairman from his post, removing one (or two) of his deputies... Questions on retirement and no-confidence were put to the vote two or three times a day.

A brief history of the conflict: Back at last November's session alarming comments were made that there are two groups in the Udmurt Government competing between themselves for spheres of influence. This March, obviously as part of this competition, a high-ranking official—Yevgeniy Zhizhin, Council of Ministers administrator of affairs—called local journalists together and made a really sensational expose of another official—Ravil Karimov, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. Specifically, he said that the "Izhinkraft" firm, of which Karimov is a founder, had concluded some doubtful deals involving the sale of oil and lumber.

This determined tirade possibly made an impression on somebody, but not on People's Deputy Nikolay Nagornykh, who stated that such facts are no sensation to him. "At a session," he said, "I pointed out that the Council of Ministers leadership had gotten involved in commercial structures' activity. It is rare to encounter a leader who is not involved in 'business.'"

The authorities' participation in commerce at the state's expense finally became the subject of a serious investigation, which was carried out by a deputies' commission assisted by experienced experts. Having studied the government's foreign economic activity, the commission reached the conclusion that the republic suffered colossal losses in a single oil sale as a result of its unlawful actions. Without any legal grounds commercial structures were given complete control of millions of dollars which are the Udmurt Republic's property. These structures successfully took advantage of concessions received by the republic.

The commission reported on the audit results at the current session. A furor broke out. Republic Prosecutor Viktor Pokhodin reported that there is an instruction from the Russian Federation General Prosecutor to carry out an investigation into the facts revealed. Udmurt Supreme Soviet Chairman Valentin Tubylov said that Nikolay Mironov, republic Council of Ministers chairman, must take responsibility in the situation that has developed, after which Mironov submissively delivered a statement about his voluntary retirement through ill health. He was "released," although not immediately.

Parliament twice attempted to express its lack of confidence in Deputy Chairman V. Solovev, but nothing came of it. On this occasion the influential deputy chairman's supporters simply walked out of the hall of sessions and spoiled the quorum. The session was broken off for an indeterminate period.

Thus, the government crisis in Udmurtia has been aggravated by the clear bankruptcy of parliament, which has simply been unable to find a way out of the situation.

Balkar Congress Notes 'Shortcomings' in Moscow Decree

PM2506161793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 25 Jun 93 p 2

[Alan Kasayev report: "Divided Land. Balkar People's Congress Discusses Russian Government Decree"]

[Text] On the eve of the third phase of the First Balkar People's Congress, the Russian Federation Government, implementing the law on the rehabilitation of repressed peoples, adopted a decree "On Socioeconomic Support for the Balkar People." It plans, in particular, to earmark federal budget funds to pay extraordinary grants in compensation for the injuries suffered by Balkars who were forcibly resettled in 1944 and to build a number of production and nonproduction installations in mountain population centers and farms—the additional appropriations for these purposes will total 54 million rubles at 1991 prices through the year 2000. What is more, a number of measures have been envisaged to develop areas inhabited by the Balkars, namely prospecting and evaluation of mineral reserves, more effective use of local balneological resources for medicinal and health purposes, and the development of a program to revive and develop national culture and train national cadres.

These steps are designed to ease the acuteness of the problems that have arisen over the last few years in the Kabardino-Balkar Republic as well as those associated with implementing the above law. As you know, the law envisaging territorial rehabilitation "began its work" last November in North Ossetia and was one of the reasons for the deaths of over 500 Ossetians and Ingush. In order to prevent the same in the North Caucasus, the Russian Government is adopting extraordinary economic and social measures in the Kabardino-Balkar Republic. The situation here is different from in Ingushetia and North Ossetia, but it is scarcely less complex. As is well known, after the Balkar people were deported in 1944 their territory was divided between the newly formed Kabardino ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] and the Georgian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], while the Balkars who returned in 1957 were to a considerable extent settled not in their former homes, albeit within a restored unified Kabardino-Balkaria. Commenting on the government decree, Boris Chabdarov, chairman of the National Council of the Balkar People [NCBP], noted that this document can be viewed as "socioeconomic support and another step toward the rehabilitation of the people," but there is still a long way to go before they are fully rehabilitated. The speakers at the congress said that the decree has a whole series of shortcomings, in particular, it says nothing about Balkars who have hitherto lived in Central Asia and Kazakhstan returning home. This question is all the more pressing in that independent states have now been formed there. At the same time this was not the main subject of debate. Participants in the congress were concerned about the Moscow and Nalchik leaders' delay in resolving the matter of restoring the four Balkar administrative-territorial rayons abolished in 1944 within the Kabardino-Balkar Republic.

At present the NCBP, the supreme elected organ of the national-democratic movement, favors turning Kabardino-Balkaria into a federation of two republics—Balkaria and Kabarda.

The council leadership thinks that the formation of a professional bicameral parliament, comprising a Chamber of the Republic and a Chamber of Nationalities, is possible during the transitional period. At the same time, Yuruslan Bolatov, adviser to the NCBP chairman, said that of late a tendency has emerged within the Balkar national movement aimed at revising the decisions adopted by the Balkar People's Congress on proclaiming the Republic of Balkaria and national sovereignty.

Resettlement May Be Solution to North's Problems

PM2806102793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Jun 93 First Edition pp 1-2

[Aleksey Tarasov report: "Russia's Northern Regions Told To Survive on Their Own"]

[Text] Krasnoyarsk—An all-Russian conference held in Krasnoyarsk was devoted to the problem of supplying the northern territories. Participating in it were Vice Premier Yuriy Yarov and representatives of many ministries, the Central Bank of Russia, the State Committee for the Social and Economic Development of the North, and all of Russia's northern territories which import goods into rayons of the far north and into localities with equivalent status.

During the navigation season a single day provides food for the year. The time when convoys of ships are able to deliver all the necessities of life to northerners is short. Aviation is now too expensive a luxury for planned shipments of freight, but navigation is under threat this year. Behind this apparently purely economic question lies the problem of the northerners' survival. It is directly linked with not only the socioeconomic but also the political realities of the far north today.

Major financial resources are required for the purchase, import, and storage of food, industrial commodities, and fuel during the navigation period, while goods can be sold and credits repaid only during the year. It is not profitable for trade to import salt, matches, soap, and other necessities at a high rate of credit, but the number of pensioners in the north who are unable to acquire expensive housing "on the mainland" is increasing all the time now. The proportion of pensioners in Norilsk Industrial Region stood at 3.7 percent in 1979, but last year it was already 8.6 percent. In short, we cannot manage without favorable credits worth considerable amounts for the delivery of commodities to the north.

Navigation is being complicated by the political changes which have overtaken Siberia and the north. Autonomous formations are trying to change their status. Taymyr Okrug is seeking to escape from Krasnoyarsk Kray's jurisdiction. Relations with Tyumen Oblast on the part of the Khanty-Mansiysk and Yamalo-Nenetsk autonomous formations are equally problematic, but if Taymyr does not need the Krasnoyarsk governor—by decision of the okrug inner soviet the voters of the autonomous formation did not participate in his election—why should he have the headache of supplying the sovereign peninsula? The Chukotsk autonomous formation, for example, has already seceded from Magadan Oblast. It is probably here that the situation with regard to importing goods is most complex. The north is not the best place for political battles and demarches.

The mechanism worked out over the decades for supplying the northern territories via the State Planning Committee, the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply, the Ministry of Trade, etc. has passed away. Last year, although parliament adopted a special decree and the government set up a task force, the prospect of being left without food or heating was perfectly real for the northerners—the Central Bank was late in opening credits for the early importing of goods into the far north, only in July and August. The northerners were saved by their stocks. Compulsory prepayment had not yet been introduced either.

Commodity reserves have now been exhausted. On 15 June the Russian president signed a directive abolishing prepayment for output delivered to rayons of the far north, but this aid came too late for some regions. In addition, the settlement mechanism envisaged in directives does not cardinally change the situation, for the credits are late this year as well. Russian Government Decree No 207 with regard to northern problems was adopted only 6 March. Credit resources began to reach the territories and the organizations in March and April, when all goods vital to northerners should already have been prepared for dispatch. The cause of the crisis also lies in the fact that the organizations opening up the north and the entire structure of the northern economy have proved totally incapable in the new economy. The state has so far been unable either to assist the north's adaptation to the market or to ensure a policy of protectionism in respect of it.

Although it attempted to distribute powers among the federal authorities, the ministries and departments, and the territories, the all-Russian conference in Krasnoyarsk did not, of course, give rise to a new mechanism for purchasing goods and importing them into the north. During the conference, however, what was probably the only possible and necessary step was taken—an attempt to formulate a draft general agreement between the government and the organs of executive power of the components of the Federation supplying the far north. Local leaders were given to understand that the federal authorities will not object if any region does not sign this agreement but seeks independent ways to provide northerners with all they need. Yuriy Yarov emphasized that the practice whereby the center imposes any structures on the components of the Federation must exist no more, and if a territory takes on the responsibility of seeking a way out of the impasse on its own—please go ahead, for God's sake. The government will help and will attentively study new experience. Yarov emphasized that, in any case, credits will henceforth be shared out in Moscow with the participation of components of the Federation.

The territories, however, are now interested not only in money but also in the Russian Government's perception of the essence of northern problems. Yes, a state program for the socioeconomic development of the north does exist. In the provinces, however, it is rated as difficult to carry out or as totally unrealizable. Many local specialists pose the question in the following terms: If the state cannot ensure an acceptable life for the northerners, a program for the resettlement of people is needed.

With regard to certain settlements and rayons this probably really would be the most acceptable and honest solution in respect not only of people but also the country's interests today. In order to supply a particular locality of the far north, is it worth releasing credits worth billions, which very frequently are not repaid and essentially constitute subsidies just for the fact that people live right there? What about pensioners beyond the Arctic Circle? For this money cannot, all the same, provide them with conditions for a human existence.

International Affairs

Kuchma, Chernomyrdin Address Border Issues

LD2806191893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1811 GMT 28 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow June 28 TASS—Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin left on a two-day visit for the cities of Kharkov, Nikolayev and Rostov-on-Don on Monday morning [28 June].

The Ukrainian delegation to the conference [as received] was headed by Ukrainian Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma.

In Kharkov, the head of the Russian Government took part in a conference of heads of border regions of Russia and Ukraine. In Nikolayev the Russian prime minister visited a ship-building plant, and in Rostov-on-Don—the "Rostselmash" plant.

At Kharkov Airport Chernomyrdin told ITAR-TASS that the conference has been convened on the initiative of five Russian and five adjoining Ukrainian regions with the aim of finding mutual understanding on how to live side-by-side in future.

"People have lived together there for centuries, but today a situation has arisen when artificial barriers are being put up impeding normal life," Chernomyrdin said. "The task of today's meeting is, primarily, to find ways of removing these barriers," Chernomyrdin said.

Chernomyrdin noted that much would depend on leaders of Russian and Ukrainian regions, "On how they come to terms, while we, on behalf of the governments, will render them assistance without interfering in their affairs," Chernomyrdin said.

In this connection, the Ukrainian Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma said that the Ukrainian Government would help border regions streamline economic relations with Russian neighbours. He came out for closer cooperation between the governments of both countries." If we understand each other better, our people will be closer together," Kuchma said.

Upon completion of the conference in Kharkov Chernomyrdin intended to visit a ship-building plant in Nikolayev. On Tuesday, Chernomyrdin is expected to hold a conference in Rostov-on-Don on issues of cooperation between Russian and Ukrainian enterprises in combine-building.

Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin cut short his tour of Kharkov, Nikolayev and Rostov-on-Don to return to Moscow where he is expected to address a congress of the Agrarian Union on Tuesday morning.

Chernomyrdin will not visit the Rostselmash plant, the country's largest producer of agricultural machinery and equipment, on Tuesday as scheduled, but will instead hold a conference on cooperation between Russian and Ukrainian combine harvester makers at the plant on Monday evening.

Later today Chernomyrdin is expected to fly back to Moscow.

Before arriving in Rostov, the prime minister had visited the Black Sea ship-building company in Nikolayev.

'Economic Cooperation Zone' Sought

LD2806154493 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1400 GMT 28 Jun 93

[Report from Kharkov by correspondent Vitaliy Pidchenko, including recordings of remarks at border conference by Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin and Ukrainian Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] A conference of leaders of border oblasts of Russia and Ukraine took place in Kharkov today. Premiers Chernomyrdin and Kuchma attended, as well as Plyushch, head of the Ukrainian Parliament.

[Pidchenko] The main issue discussed at the conference was the restoration of severed ties between the neighboring oblasts of the two countries. This severance, which has exacerbated the socioeconomic crisis in Russia and Ukraine, is felt especially acutely by regions along the border whose economy, daily life, and traditions have always been closely linked.

The conference participants adopted an address to the presidents, parliaments, and heads of governments of Russia and Ukraine. What is specifically proposed is that an economic cooperation zone within the 10 oblasts on the border be created, that the duty-free movement of goods produced there and also of citizen's personal property be permitted within them, that the administrations of these oblasts be granted the right to set product quota and licensing procedures for reciprocal deliveries, and that direct financial payments between enterprises be introduced.

[Chernomyrdin] Essentially, a second stage is beginning. We have been working at the state level and now this is taking place at the regional level. The only issue that must always be borne in mind and that we must not forget, because we are states, is that all this must comply with our laws.

[Kuchma] I support the restoration of all economic ties, above all with Russia, and with all the countries of the former Soviet Union, and also in East Europe. I am very glad that right from the start Viktor Stepanovich and I have been united on this score and, as you see, we are systematically moving in this direction—perhaps not quite in the way one might wish—and there are no disagreements between us on this at all.

Presidential Edict on Black Sea Fleet Property Completed

WS2906072893 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 28 Jun 93

[Text] According to well-informed sources, the drafting of the presidential edict on land and national property of Ukraine used by the Black Sea Fleet has been completed. The edict stipulates that plots on which Black Sea Fleet units are deployed, as well as plots earmarked to the fleet for construction, are assigned to the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense. The edict envisions that accommodations for the commanders who are citizens of other states will also be declared property of the Ministry of Defense.

Kiev Seeks Candidates for Black Sea Fleet Posts

WS2806091393 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Text] As it has become known from sources close to the Ukrainian president, an active search for candidates for joint command of the Black Sea Fleet is under way in Kiev. Candidacies of some authoritative people are being discussed, including those of Mykola Klitnyy for the post of deputy commander in chief and Volodymyr Bezkorovaynyy for chief of staff from the Ukrainian side.

A UNIAN note: Retired Vice Admiral Mykola Klitnyy, born 1928, served in the Pacific Fleet, was first deputy Black Sea Fleet commander, retired from the post of senior military adviser of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces Staff, and graduated from the Navy Academy and the General Staff Academy. Vice-Admiral Volodymyr Bezkorovaynyy is the commander of the most powerful submarine flotilla of the Northern Fleet. He has gone through all the grades of service from a commander of a group of submarines to the commander of a flotilla. He has also been the commander of a nuclear strategic submarine cruiser and participated in long cruises. He graduated from the General Staff Academy and is a candidate of military sciences.

Sevastopol Communists Oppose Black Sea Fleet Deal

PM2806150193 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jun 93 p 1

[Nikolay Musiyenko report: "Continuation of Belovezhskaya Forest Pact"]

[Text] Leaders of Sevastopol's communist organizations— the city branch of the Ukrainian Socialist Party, the "Unity" society, and the Union of Crimean Communists—have held a meeting with journalists. They announced that a unification-restoration conference of the Sevastopol branch of the Ukrainian Communist Party will be held shortly. Also on the agenda will be the question of the fate of the Black Sea Fleet.

"We were stunned when we saw the text of the agreement signed in Moscow," Vasiliy Parkhomenko, chairman of the city branch of the Ukrainian Socialist Party said. "What is this—the document of dilettantes, or deliberate betrayal of our peoples' fundamental interests?"

Leaders of the "Unity" society called the result of the two presidents' meeting in Moscow a continuation of the Belovezhskaya Forest pact.

Organizers of the meeting distributed the text of an appeal to the Russian and Ukrainian parliaments. It calls on deputies not to ratify the agreement on the division of the fleet, since only this decision will help keep the peace on the Commonwealth countries' southern maritime borders.

Russian Diplomats Explain Citizenship Issues

LD2606184793 Kiev UKRINFORM in Ukrainian 1540 GMT 25 Jun 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Lev Ryabchikov]

[Text] Simferopol, 25 Jun (UKRINFORM)— Mikhail Glushkov, head of the consular department of the Russian Embassy in Ukraine, and Nikolay Shevchenko, embassy advisor on international relations, arrived in the Republic of Crimea to inform the local population about issues of statehood, registration of visas, resettlement, and protection of the rights of Russian citizens living in Ukraine and of those who have arrived in order to rest.

They met with journalists in Simferopol today. The Russian diplomats told them about the work of the embassy and its consular department, in particular, where requests to change citizenship are sent to. It turns out, however, that it is not that simple to fulfill such requests. For example, to obtain the rights of a Russian Federation citizen one must register many documents and pay a duty amounting to about 50,000 karbovantsi. It costs five times more to register renunciation of Russian citizenship. Thus, 600 people residing in Ukraine took out Russian citizenship and about 300 people registered their renunciation of Russian Federation citizenship.

The journalists were interested to know more about the process of preparation of the treaty between Ukraine and Russia on dual citizenship. They were informed that the Russian side has drafted such a document although the response of the Ukrainian leadership to it is not yet known.

National Affairs

Most Coal Mines Said 'Working Normally'

LD2806145893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1311 GMT 28 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anatoliy Gordeyev]

[Text] Donetsk, 28 Jun—The overwhelming majority of Ukraine's 250 coal mines have ended their strike and are working normally today. Yesterday showed that the miners intend to make up for most if not all of their lost output. Within the past 24 hours, coal mines in Donetsk oblast have produced nearly 170,000 tonnes instead of 70,000 as per the plan.

Damage done to Ukraine's economy, however, amounts to more than unmined coal. During the general strike, from 8-18 June, Donetsk oblast alone lost 1,812,000 tonnes, coking coal included. The consequent loss of coke production came to 640,000 tonnes. Ukraine is unlikely to be able this year to make up for the loss of 780,000 tonnes of iron, 980,000 tonnes of steel, and 757,000 tonnes of sheet metal. In other words, the already modest domestic market will lose goods worth over 450 billion karbovantsy and enterprises will lose 70 billion karbovantsy in profits.

Yet a number of mines are staying out "until the bitter end", despite all economic logic. The most radical strike leaders are in Ukraine's independent miners' union, which is managing to keep feelings running high at the Krasnoarmeyskugol association in Donetsk oblast and the Krasnodonugol association in Lugansk oblast.

Donetsk Rules Out Strike

LD2906084893 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0500 GMT 29 Jun 93

[Text] No strike will be staged until the results of the all-Ukrainian referendum on confidence in the Ukrainian president and Supreme Council, scheduled for 26 September this year, are published. This decision was made on 28 June at a session of the Donetsk strike committee and authorized representatives of the Donetsk miners collectives. However, the Donetsk strike committee reserves the right to resume the strike at once if the government orders a new price rise.

Kravchuk Aide Comments on Strike, Kuchma

PM2806091393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 24 Jun 93 p 2

[Interview with Viktor Lisitskiy, chief of the Department of Property, Investments, and Enterprise of the Ukrainian president's Socioeconomic Council, by Vladimir Chuprin under the "Commonwealth" rubric; place and date not given: "Ukraine: Who Is in Step With the Reforms"]

[Text] The strike in the Donbass has been suspended. The minister for the republic's fuel and energy complex has been relieved of his duties under an edict by Leonid Kravchuk. His dismissal was announced by Supreme Soviet Deputy Chairman Vladimir Ryabov and Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma. Finally, a referendum on confidence in the president and the parliament will be held 26 September. But it is not the losses in the upper echelons of power that compel one to ponder the results of the miners' strike. The very future of nascent Ukrainian statehood has been placed in doubt.

We invited Viktor Lisitskiy, chief of the Department of Property, Investments, and Enterprise of the Ukrainian president's Socioeconomic Council, to give an account of the republic's political and economic situation.

[Chuprin] Viktor Ivanovich, strikes are nothing new to post-Soviet citizens. But the current strikes in the Donbass stand out by virtue of their particular scale. So is the whole of Ukraine out of step, or is it just the miners?

[Lisitskiy] I would not contrast the Donetsk miners with other sectors of the population. The sharp decline in living standards prompted the strikers to put forward political demands: A referendum on confidence in the president and the reelection of soviets at all levels, including, of course, the Supreme Soviet. That is, the miners' region has no confidence in anybody.

I think about 40 percent or more of Ukraine's inhabitants support the miners. This is quite easy to explain. Reforms in the republic have come to a temporary standstill and in a number of areas have started to regress. The people can see no future, no improvements.

[Chuprin] You know, people in Russia also feel that the reforms are not making "giant steps forward." But nonetheless there are no protest actions similar to these.

[Lisitskiy] The situation in Ukraine is a little different. What has Leonid Kuchma's government attempted to do? In order to increase the effectiveness of the national economy, it set about restoring the administrative-edict system. The privatization process was slowed down. Ministries and departments won the right to manage state property. What did this mean in practice? It meant the old model: Direct and rigid subordination of enterprises to the center. The restoration of the former methods of leadership includes resurrecting state orders, exercising direct directive control over the consumption fund and prices, and putting pressure on entrepreneurs and the market sector of the economy.

[Chuprin] Excuse me, but in Russia most directors would be glad of such government action!

[Lisitskiy] To no avail, as Ukraine's sad experience demonstrates. The private sector of the economy has begun to contract. Not just in relative but also in absolute terms. It is already clear that so-called state regulation has not yielded positive results.

Here are the figures. In the first three months of this year wholesale prices increased by 280 percent, retail prices by 180 percent, and wages by 60 percent. The gap between the increase in wages and prices is very large. After all, the correlation between them should be somewhere around 1:0.7. Otherwise there is an explosion, which is what has happened in the Donbass.

Now the government is attempting to shift the responsibility for this onto the National Bank by stating that the bank sanctioned unjustified credit emissions that unleashed the inflationary spiral. This is not so. During the first quarter the money supply in Ukraine doubled. But wholesale and retail prices, as I have already said, shot up by much more. Thus the across-the-board increase in prices was not caused by emissions.

The essence of the matter lies elsewhere. Leonid Kuchma's cabinet was unfortunate in its choice of the direction of the "main assault." The emphasis was misplaced.

It is now possible to say with full certainty that our starting point should have been the achievement of a system of partnership with Russia enabling us to predict increases in wholesale and retail prices, changes in the population's standard of living, and the scale of social guarantees and compensations. Nothing of the sort happened.

The cabinet of ministers saw entrepreneurs as the "prime enemy." A large number of our businessmen are "spilling over" Ukraine's borders into CIS countries where more stable conditions have been established for them. In general, a combination of two factors is evident. On the one hand, people are not being given the opportunity to work because wages are being limited in the state sector. On the other hand, it is impossible to exist outside the state structures. The lack of any prospects has led to an explosion.

[Chuprin] But as far as I know, Leonid Kuchma's economic program was approved by the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet....

[Lisitskiy] Unfortunately, parliament did not rise to the task. Instead of adopting a more resolute stance, the deputies adopted no stance at all.

[Chuprin] What steps are possible?

[Lisitskiy] Number one. To extend the premier's powers while rectifying his tactics. Number two. To meet the president halfway and give him powers as head of the executive branch. A formal provision of this sort does exist in the Constitution, but it is not regulated by legal norms.

The Supreme Soviet has been marking time for nearly three weeks. And one gets the impression that it is avoiding any decisions altogether. Finally, during the morning of 16 June Leonid Makarovich Kravchuk had a telephone conversation with the strike leaders and practically found a common language with them. The previous day he put forward a legislative initiative and proposed holding reelections for the Supreme Soviet and at the same time a referendum of confidence in himself personally. This was a brave and risky step but the president realized that in this kind of situation one must act decisively. The people should trust their head of state.

You already know the rest. It was only on 17 June, choosing not exactly the noblest option, that parliament voted on a referendum of confidence in the president and in the Supreme Soviet, to be held 26 September.

In short, then, the president and executive branch have at least attempted to work out a system of mutual relations worthy of a democratic state. Parliament is confining itself to endless discussions.

[Chuprin] Talkative legislators are not just a problem in Ukraine....

[Lisitskiy] But the Ukrainian parliament has a "charm" all of its own. The deputies work for three and a half days over two weeks, then disperse to their constituencies. Then they meet up again.... They themselves are not switching to a tighter schedule, and they are not allowing the executive branch to do so.

[Chuprin] You mentioned qualitatively new relations of partnership with Russia. What should we understand by that?

[Lisitskiy] I did not take part in the meeting between Kravchuk and Yeltsin and I do not yet know what the presidents talked about. But judging by available information, they talked about a free trade system between our two countries. This will bring about the free passage of goods and capital across the border. Clearly, the mutual sale of shares in enterprises will get the "go-ahead." Russia has the right to purchase shares in Crimean repair plants. And Ukraine is entitled to purchase shares in the Tyumen oil and gas complex.

As far as "concessions" to Kiev are concerned—these are the invention of journalists. At the moment Moscow sells us energy resources at twice the price its own consumers pay. Yes, the Ukrainian side has its complaints. During the period of the USSR's industrialization, when Western Siberia did not exist, the Kremlin dealt a telling blow to Ukraine's underground resources. At "dumping" prices rather than world prices. But however painfully this affected our economy, we understand that pricing was Russia's sovereign right.

[Chuprin] At the rallies in Donetsk a lot was said about how Kiev is fencing itself off from the CIS behind a "Great Wall of China" and is leading Ukraine toward a split into Crimea, the Southeast, and the Central Region. How real is this danger?

[Lisitskiy] Mark Twain said: Rumors of my death are much exaggerated. Yes, Crimea, like other regions, has its own views about the future, and they differ from the provisions enshrined in the Ukrainian Constitution. This is a natural development.

I also wish to underline that it was not Leonid Kravchuk who "thought up" Ukraine's independence, as several newspapers are saying. All this was dictated by the times, if you like, it was an order from the people.

We did not hold a referendum 1 December 1991 because "someone in particular" wanted autonomy. After 70 years of communist rule, Western Ukraine, Kharkov's machine builders, Dnepropetrovsk's metalworkers, and above all Donetsk's miners were asking for this. No one is contemplating seceding from the republic.

Of course, the development of a national identity is not always proceeding successfully—after all, Ukraine was without its own statehood for 337 years. But not everything is going smoothly even in Russia: You will agree that Moscow was an empire but not a Russian [rossiyskiy] state. We should be more tolerant toward one another.

[Chuprin] One last question. How do you envisage Ukraine's immediate future?

[Lisitskiy] Sensible politicians and parties in Kiev are insisting on early new elections to the Supreme Soviet. As a next step they are proposing a reform of the state. At any rate the people will have their important say in the 26 September referendum.

As a result of the strikes we, the presidential team, have been working quite differently. We are collaborating very actively with the government. It is possible that the time when we will have a common apparatus is not far off.

A series of serious reformist presidential edicts on corporatizing all enterprises in the state sector came out recently. In fact we took advantage of the confusion in parliament over the Donbass, met, and did what was necessary. The Supreme Soviet twice rejected confirmation of this decree at its sessions.

Under these circumstances the president is beginning to work as a vigorous reformer.

World Bank Loan To Boost Privatization, Banking

WS2806125193 Kiev KHRESHCHATYK in Ukrainian 12 Jun 93 p 2

[Report by Iryna Ivanova: "The World Bank For Ukraine"]

[Text] The World Bank has approved the $29 million loan for Ukraine. This was communicated by Daniel Kaufmann, chief of the World Bank operations in Ukraine, at the press conference in Kiev.

It was announced that the World Bank's loan would be extended for 17 years. For the first five years, however, Ukraine will have to repay only a standard 7.43-percent floating interest rate. In addition, other financial organizations provided guarantees in the form of free loans, totaling $17 billion. Thanks to these funds, Ukraine will receive export and consulting services, necessary equipment, and relevant professional training.

Daniel Kaufmann noted that the program envisions carrying out reforms in three priority branches selected by the Ukrainian Government. First, the project will help privatize many enterprises in certain regions, thus, establishing the pattern and procedures for implementing the privatization. For example, Kharkov and five other cities will obtain funds for organizing auctions of small businesses. Second, in the sphere of banking, it will facilitate modernization of the payment system, reform the system of bank accounts, and strengthen commercial banks. Third, the project will improve the management of state finances, create a national treasury system, and streamline tax collection and statistics.

Fuel Shortages Hamper Crimean Harvesting Campaign

LD2806165093 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0800 GMT 28 Jun 93

[Report by correspondent Vladimir Plotnikov; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Harvesting is under way in the south of Ukraine. As usual, machine workers in the Crimea were the first to take to the fields.

[Plotnikov] The Frunze state collective farm has not had a drop of rain since spring. They joke wistfully here that only sweat has irrigated the soil. The unprecedented drought has affected other farms as well. The weather has reminded us that the sunny peninsula, as we call it, lies in a sub-desert geographical zone. However, just as much damage to the harvest has been caused by another kind of drought: an acute shortage of oils and lubricants. The Crimean Council of Ministers has commandeered all reserves for harvesting, appropriated fuel from towns, and temporarily prohibited refueling private cars. However, as in earlier situations, many pieces of equipment are idle because their fuel tanks are empty.

The fuel shortage is also dictating tactics. Many farms are now harvesting grain directly. While grain losses will be greater than when the work is done in several stages, fuel is saved. It is expected that the Crimeans will gather around 1.5 million tonnes of grain, that is, the Crimean cottage loaves will be lighter than last year but, at the same time, much more expensive. The price is arrived at, in the first instance, from the unbelievable expenditure on oils and lubricants and, last, from the modest wages for the genuinely heroic work of the farm workers. It is regrettable but the Frunze collective farm, which is renowned as a sound farm, always at the forefront, will not be able to settle its debts with the bankers even after it has sold the present harvest. Is it any wonder that bread in the shops has become an expensive commodity?

Commission Views Military Conversion, Space Program

LD2806211693 Kiev UKRINFORM in Ukrainian 1014 GMT 28 Jun 93

[Report by UKRINFORM correspondent Serhiy Kravchenko]

[Text] [no dateline as received] Problems of converting the military-industrial economy of the former USSR to resolve the tasks of a sovereign Ukraine were at the center of attention in the Supreme Council's commission for issues of defense and state security, whose visiting sitting took place in the Pridneprovsk region. Members of the Supreme Council's commission for issues of the development of basic sectors of the national economy and others also formed part of the representative parliamentary delegation. In the course of the two days they visited the "Pivdenne" [southern] design bureau and the Dnepropetrovsk association's "Southern machine building plant" at its Pavlograd enterprise. They met experts and scientists, and had conversations with workers collectives. The deputies experts' results, recommendations, and concluding assessments will be submitted to the presidium in the near future and then for the Supreme Council's consideration. The basis of the future draft state program for the prospective development of the former union "defense sector's" potential on Ukraine's territory has already been drawn up.

"This working meeting took place almost immediately after our trip to Kazakh Baykanor," explains Valentyn Lemekh, head of the delegation and chairman of the Supreme Council commission for issues of defense and state security. "Being on the spot we became convinced of the extent to which we are connected with the development of similar defense and space structures in Russia and Kazakhstan. Until now, conversion in Ukraine has been going on without a clear state scenario and much was spent on this. A clear plan for the reconstruction of the entire former military-industrial complex where one's place in the general production line will be legalized is urgently required: in order to resolve space tasks, to flood the market with conversion goods and directly for the purpose of manufacturing with the aim of defense."

The commission ascertained with satisfaction that despite the present inflationary and market difficulties, the former enterprises of the military-industrial complex have managed to preserve their unique scientific, manufacturing, and personnel potential; have broadened the range of manufactured products; and are taking an active part in implementing the CIS space program. Taking into account the accumulated experience of the "defense sector" it will develop further but is already "under the wing" and following the timetable of a single and clearly outlined state program that is formed in the interests of the mutually beneficial cooperation with its neighbors.

The Ukrainian parliamentarians actively worked with their colleagues from the Supreme Council of Kazakhstan.

First Congress of Ukrainian Students Opens

LD2606221893 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 26 Jun 93

[Text] The first unified worldwide Ukrainian Congress of Students got under way in Kiev on 26 June. It was organized by the influential Ukrainian Students' Union, the Union of Ukrainian Students, and the Central Union of Ukrainian Students, which unites our young compatriots in the diaspora. Several sections are working at the congress, in particular the sections on policy, economy and business, education, science and culture, as well as international cooperation. Ukraine's President Leonid Kravchuk greeted the congress participants.

Belarus

Polish President Arrives in Minsk for Visit

LD2806082893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0642 GMT 28 Jun 93

[By BELINFORM-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Minsk, 28 Jun—A ceremony to welcome Polish President Lech Walesa was held in Minsk-2 Airport this morning. The head of the Polish state, with his wife and accompanying officials, were met by Belarus Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich and his wife.

The itinerary of the visit envisages one-on-one talks between the heads of the two neighboring states, as well as talks between extended delegations. In the Polish Embassy, Walesa expressed the desire to present commemorative medals to participants in the defensive battles of 1939 who are now living on the territory of Belarus. There are also plans for a meeting between the Polish president and Vyacheslav Kebich, head of the Belarus Government.

Tomorrow, Lech Walesa will speak at the Belarus Supreme Soviet session. Then the heads of the two states will hold a joint news conference. In the second half of the day the Polish president will visit the Belarusian towns of Baranovichi and Novogrudok, after which he will leave for home.

Favors Bolstering 1992 Treaty

WS2906105793 Minsk BELINFORM in Russian 1525 GMT 28 Jun 93

[Unattributed BELINFORM report: "Lech Walesa Came to Belarus"]

[Text] On 28 June, a special aircraft of Polish President Lech Walesa landed at Minsk-2 Airport. The important guest was received by Belarusian Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich, other Belarusian officials, and heads of diplomatic missions accredited in Minsk.

A year ago, at the time of Stanislav Shushkevich's visit to Poland, a "Treaty Between the Republic of Belarus and the People's Republic of Poland on Good Neighbor Relations and Friendly Cooperation" was signed. The two parties confirmed the inviolability of the existing borders and obliged themselves to bolster the disarmament process and refrain from using force.

The key aim of the visit of the Polish president to Belarus is to discuss the implementation of the 1992 treaty.

"This treaty is being implemented very sluggishly, therefore we do not profit from it. In my opinion, in the shortest time possible, we must open new control customs posts along our border to encourage economic and cultural relations between our peoples," Lech Walesa said when he arrived in Minsk.

According to Stanislav Shushkevich, they did not discuss the military issues. The Polish and Belarusian Defense Ministries work in close cooperation and have no problems, he added.

In response to the journalists' question about whether he supports the point of view of Stanislav Shushkevich on the non entry of Belarus to the CIS collective security bloc, Lech Walesa said that this is the domestic affair of Belarus. At the same time, he noted that he considers Stanislav Shushkevich to be a shrewd politician working for the benefit of Belarusian people.

Holds News Conference With Shushkevich

WS2906083193 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1200 GMT 28 Jun 93

[Report by correspondent Mikhail Rudkovski from the Minsk-2 Airport]

[Text] [Rudkovski] [passage omitted] Currently, negotiations are taking place between Belarusian Supreme Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich and Polish President Lech Walesa, as well as between relevant Belarusian and Polish officials.

Later, a short press conference for journalists was held. In response to my question on the national borders between Poland and Belarus, Lech Walesa said:

[Begin recording] [Walesa in Polish, with superimposed Belarusian translation] In my opinion, in the year 2000, there should not be borders between our countries. In order to bring this wish to reality, we should bolster our cooperation, especially in the sphere of economy and remove all the obstacles which impede this cooperation.

[Rudkovski] Stanislav Stanislavovich, did you discuss any issues with regard to cooperation in the military sphere?

[Shushkevich] This issue did not arise—there are no problems in this sphere. Our Ministries of Defense are cooperating.

[Walesa] I want to add that Poland will never see an enemy in Belarus and will never attack Belarus or make any hostile moves. We have had enough disrespect, foolishness, and grief in our relations in the past. We like many places on Belarusian territory, while Belarusians like many places in Poland. We must make it easier for people to communicate. [end recording]

Meets With Kebich

LD2806202793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2010 GMT 28 Jun 93

[By a BELINFORM correspondent for TASS]

[Text] Minsk June 28 TASS—Prime Minister of Belarus Vyacheslav Kebich characterized his talks with President of Poland Lech Walesa as "exclusivley useful and interesting" which were held today. A wide range of political and economic questions were discussed during the meeting, Kebich said.

Lech Walesa narrated his experience of economic reforms in his country and cautioned of repeating mistakes which were made during the implementation of reforms in Poland. They agreed on specific possibilities for increasing contacts between representatives of the two countries and discussed possibilities of simplifying border crossing procedure by citizens of Belarus and Poland.

After a meeting with the head of the Belarusian Government Lech Walesa held talks with Foreign Minister Petr Kravchenko. They had discussions on common European issues, the head of the Belarusian Foreign Ministry told journalists.

Both sides reached the conclusion that "the West is not ready to provide its market neither to Polish nor Belarusian goods." That is why the question of bilateral cooperation and mutual support has become the focus of the Belarusian-Polish talks, they concluded.

Addresses Supreme Soviet

LD2906113693 Warsaw PAP in English 1040 GMT 29 Jun 93

[Text] Minsk, June 29—President Lech Walesa, on a two-day official visit to the Republic of Belarus, addressed the republic's Supreme Soviet Tuesday.

"It was very far from Warsaw to Minsk in the past but today it is very near. Not because of geography but history. From now on the time would work for the benefit of both states if they seize this historic opportunity and meet the challenge," said Lech Walesa.

The president referred to geo-politics which, in his opinion, were once a curse but today they provide an opportunity for the two countries to play an important role in the process of Europe's integration. The president added that democratic transformations were one of the conditions laid down to both states by Europe. Walesa emphasized that it was not easy to build a democratic system as there was a temptation to take short cuts.

He observed that Polish experience showed that democracy should be trusted as, next to the sense of national identity, it was one of the pillars of social order and stability of the state.

The president encouraged Polish private firm owners to invest in Belarus and expressed the hope they would find partners ready to cooperate.

Walesa also told the Belarusian Supreme Soviet that Poland and Belarus were united by history and culture. He added that the time came when both states began to be united by joint interests and ventures. He stressed that this was the road to prosperity of people, to democracy, tolerance and openness.

Shushkevich Criticizes Price Increases

WS2806074993 Minsk NARODNAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Jun 93 p 1

[Report by BELAPAN agency correspondent Ales Lipay: "Prices...."]

[Text] At the request of the BELAPAN agency correspondent, Belarusian Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich commented on the latest increase in prices.

He said, in particular: "With regard to the measures that are currently being introduced in the Republic, such as the transfer of definite sums to the domestic debt, the government must free the prices. In any event, the latest increase in prices has not become a step toward the development of market relations. This was a measure characterizing a planned economy rather than a market economy since it has not provided greater freedoms for trade."

Moldova

Inter-Ministerial Meeting With Romania Held

Snegur, Romania's Melescanu View Ties

AU2806161093 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 28 Jun 93

[Septimiu Roman dispatch from Chisinau]

[Text] The plenary meeting of the Inter-Ministerial Committees of Romania and the Republic of Moldova began this morning at the Republican Center of Culture in Chisinau.

In his opening speech, Mr. Nicolae Andronati, first deputy prime minister of the government and the head of the Moldovan delegation, summed up the activities since the previous meeting in Bucharest in March 1993. Mr. Andronati said that positive results have been registered in the relations between the economic organizations of the two Romanian states as well as in the areas of education, science, sports, and tourism. Mr. Andronati also spoke of less fruitful cooperation in the industrial and agricultural areas.

Mr. Teodor Melescanu, Romanian minister of foreign affairs and head of the Romanian delegation, suggested in his response that the evaluation of the relations between ministries and departments of the two Romanian states does not have to be critical but rather a basis for future actions. Mr. Melescanu expressed satisfaction with the results achieved so far, such as: the first-time endorsement by the Romanian Parliament of a law regarding the establishment of a fund financing activities for relations with the Republic of Moldova; increasing the number of scholarships for students of the Republic of Moldova; printing of studies and school books, and others.

Among the goals that so far have not been met, Mr. Melescanu mentioned the following: a commercial protocol and accord of free exchange of goods has not yet been concluded; the existence of certain customs obstacles; and delays in opening new international border crossing points.

An important point made by Mr. Teodor Melescanu on the review of achievements referred to the need to expand the legal framework, given the considerable number of accords that have not been concluded or which, although signed, have not been implemented.

Among solutions proposed by Mr. Teodor Melescanu, we cite the following: expediting the red tape on opening the Joint Cultural Center "Miorita" in Chisinau; continuing the television program exchange; promoting a more significant presence of Moldovan books and press in Romania and vice-versa, among other things.

The meeting continued in working groups. At 1100 Mr.Teodor Melescanu was received by the president of the Republic of Moldova Mircea Snegur. On this occasion, Mr. Snegur expressed his hope that today's visit will dispel rumors of an alleged decline in relations between the two Romanian states. Likewise, the president of the Republic of Moldova suggested that the issue of establishing the free economic zone of Ungheni-Nisporeni also be included in today's discussions.

Expressing his thanks for a very warm reception, Mr. Melescanu presented President Snegur with a quick summary of this morning's Inter-ministerial Committee meeting. At the end of the meeting, in an improvised news conference, Mr. Mircea Snegur spoke to our correspondent Calin Petrecu:

[Begin Snegur recording] I believe that this time the meeting discussed certain guidelines. President Iliescu's recommendations to the Romanian delegation is known, as well as my recommendations to the Republic of Moldova delegation, to decide on the ways they should proceed from talk to action. I believe there are many ideas and even more plans, but unfortunately I begin to (?doubt) the integration in the economic area. I would like to see the documents signed, but once again I have to stress that we, both the Republic of Moldova and Romania, intend to set up some kind of control regarding the way these plans are being implemented. I can also tell you that I asked Minister of State Melescanu to convey my best wishes and greetings to President Ion Iliescu. I also expressed my wish and my view that it is necessary to organize a meeting between we presidents, in order to clarify certain problems that seem to come up. [end recording]

Mr. Teodor Melescanu was then received by Petru Lucinschi, president of the Moldovan Parliament.

The inauguration of the new headquarters of the Romanian Embassy in Chisinau is taking place at this time.

Documents Signed

AU2906061693 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 28 Jun 93

[Septimiu Roman report from Chisinau]

[Text] The highlight of the visit paid to Chisinau by a Romanian delegation was the signing of several documents at the Republican Center of Culture and Art two hours ago. The protocol of the interministerial meeting was signed by the chiefs of the delegations from the two Romanian states, Messrs. Teodor Melescanu and Nicolae Andronati; a trade protocol was signed by Mr. Constantin Teculescu, minister of trade from Romania, and Teodor Andrei Chepine, minister of foreign economic relations of the Republic of Moldova; and an air services accord was signed by Messrs. Ion Tomescu, state secretary of the Ministry of Transportation of Romania, and Vladimir Florea, deputy minister of the Ministry of Transportation of the Republic of Moldova.

After the signing of the protocol of the interministerial committee from Romania and the Republic of Moldova, Messrs. Teodor Melescanu and Nicolae Andronati made press statements.

Before this, at 1700, after the signing of the protocol on cooperation between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Messrs. Teodor Melescanu and his counterpart from the Republic of Moldova, Mr. Nicolae Tau, made press statements.

In his statement, Mr. Tau expressed thanks for the fraternal support given by Romania with the assertion of the Republic of Moldova as a subject of international law and for Moldova's integration in international bodies such as the United Nations, the CSCE, NATO, and other such organizations.

Mr. Tau also expressed thanks for more than 100 books donated by Romania's Foreign Ministry to the Republic of Moldova's Foreign Ministry library.

In turn, Mr. Teodor Melescanu affirmed that the protocol signed today formalizes and institutionalizes a practice that has existed for some time between the Foreign Affairs Ministries of the two Romanian states, thus lending it a permanent character. The joint integration into European structures and direct cooperation within international bodies, Mr. Melescanu said, also contribute to providing an impetus for bilateral cooperation.

Referring to the donated books, Mr. Melescanu said that he views them as a symbol with a dual significance: the intrinsic value of the books and the emotional one. The books have been donated exclusively by members of Romanian diplomatic missions abroad and by Foreign Ministry officials in Bucharest.

Snegur, World Bank Officials Discuss Reforms

AU2806133693 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1040 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Text] Chisinau, BASAPRESS 25/6/1993—The experts of the International Bank will "work over finance and judicial reform concerning the private and business sectors and social protection of the population, mentioned Jonathan Walters, the Chief of the International Bank Mission, who came to Moldova, according to the press service of the President, Teodor Stolojan, an expert of the International Bank in the problems of privatisation, estimated that the programme of economic reforms in Moldova coincides with the concept of the experts from the bank, offering real opportunities to attract investors from the West. President Snegur pointed out that for the aim of coordinating the activity of working groups for establishing priorities concerning the discussed credit of the International Bank and for collaboration with the mission of the respective bank, a joint working group was formed. Snegur stressed the importance of the offered assistance by this international organ, emphasising that the suggestions of experts would be really useful in the process of improving the Moldovan economy, states the quoted source.

Snegur Meets Southern Regions' Representatives

AU2806152293 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1751 GMT 26 Jun 93

[Text] Chisinau, BASAPRESS, 26/6/1993—Today President Mircea Snegur had a meeting with the responsible leaders of the Executive Committees of the Southern Regions of Moldova. In the discussion participated the chairman of Parliament, Petru Lucinschi, ministers responsible for social order and struggle against crime, the counselors of the president, informed the Press-Service of the president. During the meeting were considered measures aimed to curb crime from the side of the armed units of Gagauzian guardsmen and other illegal structures active in these regions of the republic. The speakers communicated that these criminal units threaten civil population with weapons, embezzle Moldovan, Bulgarian and even Gagauzian villages. The crimes committed by these groups make the situation red-hot. This prompted the local authorities to seek defense within Government of Moldova, especially since they are afraid to be deprived of the harvest. The speakers stressed that the guardsmen do not consider the fact that the project concerning special status of Gagauzian settlements has already been suggested for discussion by the international experts. The president ensured he would thoroughly consider the proposals which arose during the meeting and spelled out that the counter fight measures ought to be systematic and differentiating. The president spoke about necessity of foundation of a special committee in order to fight against crime throughout the whole republic and resume activities of the Supreme Court of Security. President Snegur intends to address speech to the Gagauzians, who as he believes want to live in peace and council with the rest population of Moldova, but he is being deluded by the separatist leaders from Comrat, informs the Press-Service of the president.

Trade Unions, Government Agree on Minimum Wage

LD2806165793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1600 GMT 28 Jun 93

[Text] From 1 July minimum wages in Moldova will be raised to 7.5 thousand rubles. MOLDOVA-PRESS reports that this decision was made by republic President Mircea Snegur. In line with an accord with the Moldovan Federation of independent trade unions, wages will be revised again in September.

Armenia

Karabakh Leader 'Pleased' With Yerevan Visit

MK2606131093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 26 Jun 93 p 3

[Armen Khanbabyan report: "'We Met in Yerevan With Complete Understanding of our Problems.' New Karabakh Parliament Leader Pleased With Relations Between Armenia, Karabakh"]

[Text] The first official visit to Yerevan by Karen Baburyan, new chief of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] Supreme Soviet, lasted for two days and had a very crowded schedule. Within this time Baburyan held talks with the Armenian president, the vice president, the Council of Ministers chairman, the foreign minister, and other high-ranking Armenian officials. The talks focused on matters related to Karabakh's security and the increase in Armenia's economic and technical assistance to Stepanakert. According to Baburyan, the Karabakhis met with complete understanding of their problems, which was made possible thanks to their recent agreement to sign the CSCE's latest peace initiative. Thus, the main stumbling block in relations between Yerevan and Stepanakert was removed.

In the final press conference, the Karabakh leader had to hear numerous reproaches from journalists representing opposition newspapers, who claimed that by signing the document the Karabakhis allegedly showed faintheartedness, bowed to outside diktat, retreated from previous positions, and so forth. Karen Baburyan said in that regard: "What is important is by far not our agreement to leave Kelbadzhar. We agreed to the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution No. 822, and this document creates real prerequisites for peace." He believes that a response from Azerbaijan should be expected now, but added that these steps should not be limited to the lifting of the blockade, because this would just enable the Karabakhis to exercise their natural right to life. As long as Azerbaijan declines to revise its policy with regard to the NKR, maintaining the requisite level of security will remain the key problem. Baburyan complained that the international community was still unprepared to guarantee Karabakh's security, which is why its army, which has recently made significant progress in resolving recruitment, armament, and training problems, remains the NKR's sole guarantor.

Karen Baburyan emphasized that what he termed currently perfect relations between the two Armenian states did not mean that henceforth Stepanakert would unquestioningly toe Yerevan's line. The NKR is still independent in its decisions and actions, which are ideologically rooted in the Independence Declaration adopted on the results of a national referendum. This is why Karabakh is willing to make any compromises, but will never give up its status as an independent state—and soon the day will come when the international community legally recognizes this reality.

The Karabakh leader expressed his concern over the unstable situation in Azerbaijan, because in the current situation a truce has to be postponed indefinitely. Moreover, exploiting the lack of control, the Azerbaijan Army has increased pressure in the northern and eastern parts of the front, and the military situation is now even more tense than it was before the parties to the conflict accepted the mediators' settlement plan.

When asked about his political preferences, Karen Baburyan said that he was a member of the Dashnaktsutyun party. Ironically, after Karabakh signed the CSCE's plan-schedule, the Yerevan-based leaders of the party were quick to explain that the new Karabakh leader had long lost touch with the party organization and, consequently, cannot be considered a Dashnaktsutyun member. This shows that the Dashnaks do not want to have anything to do with the peace process. Baburyan pointed out, however, that at present the question of party affiliations was unimportant in Karabakh, and that people and organizations are assessed by their service to the motherland and the idea of its independence.

Appeals to CSCE Chairman on Cease-Fire

NC2806181093 Yerevan SNARK in English 1521 GMT 28 Jun 93

[Text] Stepanakert, June 28 (SNARK)—Today chairman of Karabakh Parliament Karen Baburyan sent a letter to Mario Rafaelli, chairman of the CSCE, according to the press office of Karabakh Parliament. The message notes that the situation at the Azerbaijani-Karabakh front line has been seriously [words indistinct] agreement with Russia's mediation was signed on cease-fire June 27 from the same day at 5 a.m. for a week. The Karabakh Republic has completely fulfilled its commitments, however, on June 27 8.30 a.m. Stepanakert was intensively shelled from the Agdamskiy region, Azerbaijan, territory bringing victims among peaceful population and destructions. Azerbaijani's warplanes go on bombing villages in the Askeranskiy, Martuninskiy and Mardakertskiy regions, Karabakh. Expressing his anxiety relating the alarming development of events, Karabakh parliamentary speaker assured Mario Rafaelli that Karabakh will restrain as long as possible from using its right for responsive actions and is again affirming its readiness for immediate cease-fire. "Taking into account the political reality occurred at present in Azerbaijan, I believe it is necessary to work out immediately mechanisms and real guaranties for cease-fire. We cannot allow to annihilate peaceful population of Karabakh without a punishment", concluded Karen Baburyan.

National Movement Congress Opens in Yerevan

LD2506172693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1713 GMT 25 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan June 25 TASS—The fifth congress of the Armenian National Movement, the republic's ruling public and political organization since 1990, opened here on Friday [25 June].

The delegates to the congress, who include a lot of deputies of the Armenian Supreme Soviet (parliament), are expected to discuss a political report by the movement's board, to consider amendments to the organization's charter and to work out approaches to the problems currently of vital concern for the republic, above all the draft of a new Armenian constitution. Among the issues to be debated by the congress is that of whether the Armenian National Movement will be transformed in a party with a clearly-cut structure or remain a movement with rather unsteady organizational principles.

Presenting the political report of the movement's board, Father Iusik Lazaryan stressed that for the year and a half, which had passed since the previous congress, the movement "made a considerable contribution to the cause of preserving stability in Armenia, the development of all spheres of the republic's public, political and economic life".

The congress, which is to last three days, is attended by Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan, who was one of the initiators of the Armenian National Movement and its former chairman.

Ter-Petrosyan Delivers Speech

MK2906090493 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 29 Jun 93 p 3

[Armen Khanbabyan report: "President Confident That He Is Right. Another Victory of Armenian Troops in Karabakh"]

[Text] The last day of the Armenian National Movement [ANM] congress on 27 June was the most notable one. At the beginning of the meeting the delegates gave a standing ovation to the announcement that the Karabakh self-defense forces, after launching a counteroffensive in the northern part of the front, seized the rayon center of Mardakert. Thus the restoration of Karabakh's territory in its 1988 borders was effectively completed.

After this, President Levon Ter-Petrosyan delivered a lengthy speech to the congress. He began by pointing out that his address was not a report on the work done, but an attempt to give a public response to numerous accusations most often voiced by the opposition.

In Levon Ter-Petrosyan's view, the authorities are least of all responsible for the drop in the living standards of the population, because, first, this is a process under way everywhere in the former Soviet Union, and, second, nothing else could have been expected given the continuing war and blockade. He dismissed the claim that the ANM betrayed the Karabakh idea. On the contrary, at present Karabakh is stronger than ever and it has proved that attempts to solve the problem by military means have no prospects for the future. It is also wrong to say that the movement's activity has had a chilling effect on Armenian-Russian relations. Just the opposite; Never in the 300-year history of the relations between the two peoples have these bonds been so close, sincere, and benevolent as they are now.

A considerable part of the president's address was devoted to the analysis of the current status of Armenia's relations with the diaspora. He rejected the opposition's desire to see all the Armenians world over as citizens of the Republic of Armenia. Obviously, every Armenian has the right to this, for Armenia is the home country of all Armenians, but then they should assume the corresponding responsibilities, such as, for instance, paying taxes and serving in the National Army.

Levon Ter-Petrosyan also pointed out that at present, as in the past, two approaches were competing in the Armenian politics: an approach of reckless adventures, based on the principle of the people's historical rights; and a rational one stemming from current reality. The first approach, which had gained the upper hand in Armenia in 1918, already caused a national tragedy. The country lost a major part of its territory and its independence. Now that the dream of independence came true again, it is essential that the rational approach prevail, an approach based not on the desire to make good the so-called historical injustice, but on the wish to create a free, rule-of-law, and peace-loving state in which the right of the individual will take precedence.

The president's statement was aired in full on national television. Judging from initial responses, it produced a favorable impression. It is also evident, however, that the opposition will try to counteract this victory, and a discussion about the country's paths of further development is bound to take on a new intensity in the near future.

Deputy Premier Appointed Representative at CIS

NC2806211993 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1316 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] By decree of the Armenian president, the republic's Deputy Prime Minister Vigen Chitechyan has been appointed Armenia's representative at the Coordination-Consultative Committee of the CIS.

Azerbaijan

Aliyev, Guseynov Resume Negotiations 29 Jun

NC2906113893 Baku TURAN in English 0947 GMT 29 Jun 93

[Text] Baku June 29 (TURAN)—This morning negotiations between the chairman of Azerbaijan SS [Supreme Soviet] Geydar Aliyev and Surat Guseynov resumed. Beforehand building was occupied by Surat Guseynovs guardsmen.

As TURAN agency was reported from informed source, the heart of the talks between Aliyev and Guseynov was the question of office, which Surat Guseynov would occupy in new government of the country. So as information centre of the biggest opposition party national independence reported, Surat Guseynov pretended to two posts at a time: premier and defense minister. Geydar Aliyev in his turn declared at one of his press-conferences, if Surat Guseynov would be appointed commander-in-chief, the latter promised to put an end to the war as soon as possible.

According to information of TURAN agency, talks between Geydar Aliyev and Surat Guseynov have given no results yet. Parties cannot reduce to the same denominator.

Observers think G. Aliyev will unlikely agree to S. Guseynovs being premier and defense minister. This would have meant concentration of all power in the country in Surat Guseynovs hands.

As far as opposition leader Etibar Mamedovs opinion concerns, he declared at his press-conference June 20 "I am ready to accept the office of premier only after parliamentary elections, because legitimacy of our present Milli Mejlis is under the question. But now I am ready to win governments confidence, which will be functioning before parliament elections".

[Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish at 1200 GMT on 28 June adds: "Efforts are continuing to find a solution for the internal political crisis in Azerbaijan. It is reported that talks are continuing between Surat Guseynov, who started a rebellion in Ganja at the beginning of this month, Geydar Aliyev, chairman of the National Assembly, and opposition leaders. It is also reported that Guseynov has been offered the post of prime minister. Political circles, however, note that Guseynov has rejected this post on the grounds that it is not sufficient."]

Guseynov Interviewed on Recent Events

PM2806120593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Jun 93 First Edition p 4

[Report on interview with Surat Guseynov by Georgiy Ivanov-Smolenskiy and Sokhbet Mamedov in Ganja; date of interview not given: "Surat Guseynov: 'I Am the Slave of My People'"]

[Text] Baku, 25 June—On the whole of our journey from Baku to Ganja we met armed people on two or three occasions, but at every step there were peasants by the wayside carrying buckets of cherries and apricots—the Azerbaijani countryside did not live up to our ideas of a country that is not only at war with an outside enemy but is also split by internal confrontation. Therefore when we were subjected to an extremely thorough search by guards armed to the teeth before our meeting with Colonel Surat Guseynov, this procedure did not seem entirely real to us. However, reality made itself felt a few hours later when three of the Ganja leader's closest comrades in arms were killed by terrorists virtually at the time we were inspecting the burned out ruins of the barracks stormed 4 June.

But before that we spent 90 minutes talking to the man who now enjoys the prestige of an elder in Azerbaijan, despite his 34 years. Director of a combine engaged in the primary processing of wool, Surat Guseynov has become the best known of those who fought on the Azerbaijani side in Karabakh. By edict of President Abulfaz Elchibey he was awarded the title of National Hero of Azerbaijan, which corresponds to the title of Hero of the Soviet Union. The president also appointed him plenipotentiary representative to Nagorno-Karabakh, deputy prime minister, and commander of the Agdere Military Corps.

It was the rapid rise in S. Guseynov's prestige that caused, in the opinion of most observers, the breakdown in his relations with the People's Front and the republic's leadership. Our conversation began with the dramatic storming of the 709th Brigade's barracks—a brigade loyal to Surat Guseynov.

[Guseynov] The assault on the 709th Brigade's barracks began at 0600 hours without warning—we received no prior demands for the unit to be disbanded and weapons to be surrendered. At virtually the same time my house was also surrounded by presidential guardsmen, Security Ministry's special-purpose troops and internal troops. We did not return fire until 1300 hours: I could not give the order for fraternal blood to be shed. Meanwhile tanks and rooftop snipers were firing on the unit's base. It was only after the commander of one of the Ganja battalions was shot at pointblank range as he came out to negotiate carrying a white flag that I gave the order to retaliate. In 20 minutes the troops attacking us were overwhelmed and disarmed.

[IZVESTIYA] What do you think provoked this assault—six months ago the president did after all confer on you the highest positions and titles?

[Guseynov] I cannot speak for the president, but I know for sure that I did not engage in political intrigue. I only took steps that were in the people's interests. No one can say that when I was director of the combine and was asked for 10,000 rubles for a wedding or a funeral I gave 9,000. No one can ever say that I agreed to surrender even one village in Karabakh. Politicians are people who cannot bear anyone else to be popular. That was why Ganja was besieged three times last spring.

[IZVESTIYA] Do you think that the president was aware of the action prepared against you?

[Guseynov] There are documents corroborating this. There are also living witnesses whom we took hostage, who have confirmed that they were acting on orders "from on high."

[IZVESTIYA] The tragedy in Ganja virtually coincided with the anniversary of the coming to power of the People's Front. In your view, what has Azerbaijan gained from this year?

[Guseynov] I do not see that they have done anything good in this year. This year has only brought unhappiness. They have done everything bad that they could have done for the people: Everything has been plundered and the pickings have been transferred to foreign banks. The people are hungry; they have sold off everything that was built up in the past and filled their pockets.

[IZVESTIYA] What train of events in the republic's political life in the near future could benefit the people?

[Guseynov] A new president should be democratically elected; the people now know everyone well and will only bring to power those who are worthy of it.

Needless to say, all this should only happen once those responsible for the Ganja tragedy—the incumbent leadership of Azerbaijan—have been punished.

[IZVESTIYA] Which political figures in Azerbaijan do you now consider the key figures and what place do you see for yourself among them?

[Guseynov] A real people's movement is now gaining momentum in Azerbaijan, and time will tell who will occupy what niche. Today the people, for instance, are following Parliament Chairman Geydar Aliyev and he must choose the right path.

[IZVESTIYA] Are you prepared for political dialogue with Geydar Aliyev and the republic's other political leaders?

[Guseynov] That can only happen once they have determined their attitude to the events in Ganja. Today each politician's actions and deeds are being weighed up. And the people will thus verify who is who.

[IZVESTIYA] You are a popular leader in Azerbaijan today. How do you view the fact that your name is already being abused in various situations?

[Guseynov] This has happened in some regions, but these people will be severely punished without fail.

[IZVESTIYA] What is your view of a possible meeting with Abulfaz Elchibey?

[Guseynov] I cannot meet with a criminal; he has shed his people's blood, and that is the main obstacle.

[IZVESTIYA] The official authorities claim that mafia structures have gathered around you.

[Guseynov] These structures, foreign ones included, surround the current leadership of the republic. They should not ascribe their sins to other people.

[IZVESTIYA] If new structures of authority are formed in Azerbaijan in the near future, what role do you see for yourself in these structures and on what political forces would you rely?

[Guseynov] I am not thinking of a post in the leadership. But if the people demand my involvement, I am ready. I will rely on the people who support me. I think that I can extricate my people from their current position.

[IZVESTIYA] In your view, why were your troops not resisted on their journey to Baku?

[Guseynov] Because in the past year the people have lost their faith in a leadership that has reduced them to poverty. They called themselves democrats, but established dictatorship in the republic.

[IZVESTIYA] There is a view that the "hand of Moscow" is behind you.

[Guseynov] That is rubbish. The incumbent authorities have gotten accustomed to seeking the cause of every failure elsewhere, declaring a republic their enemy. That way the republic may be reduced to a position where no one will support it. The "hand of Moscow" is a ridiculous story.

[IZVESTIYA] The regions associate the change in the leaders of the executive with you, and this is perceived as a coup d'etat.

[Guseynov] These claims are unfounded. The population of most regions are unhappy with the leadership at local level and have demanded its resignation. When legitimate demands met with opposition, these people called on my people to help. But executive leaders have never ever been replaced on my orders.

[IZVESTIYA] What solution do you see to the Karabakh problem?

[Guseynov] Azerbaijan and Armenia have always been and will always be neighbors. The war in Karabakh is clearly being controlled from abroad, this is the wish of foreign mafia groups. No one wants what is happening today—neither the Azerbaijani nor the Armenian peoples. This problem should be resolved not by Armenians and Azerbaijanis, but by Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh. We must all come to our senses! We must not forget that the destruction of the Union began with Karabakh. People across the ocean wanted to destroy the Union. It began with Karabakh. Two republics that were one family should be aware of this and not blame it all on "objective processes." We have been driven into a quagmire and we must get out of it together and then choose who takes what road.

[IZVESTIYA] What caused the Azerbaijani Army's military failures in Karabakh. Why, in your opinion, were units under your command successful in Karabakh?

[Guseynov] If we were successful, it was because of the selflessness of the people fighting with me.

Levon Ter-Petrosyan's and Abulfaz Elchibey's teams were controlled by one center, let both the Azerbaijanis and the Armenians know that. We must not become bad neighbors, if only because in 10 or 20 years our two peoples will nonetheless be reconciled.

The republic's new leadership must take the moral path. We have had enough of deceiving the people and selling our territory. As neighbors we must reach agreement and resolve the Karabakh problem by political means. Otherwise the young generation will not forgive us in a decade or so.

[IZVESITYA] We are all human. In Azerbaijan you have developed plenty of enemies. Are you not afraid of them taking revenge?

[Guseynov] I am the slave of my people. And I am for the people if they want me, even if I am killed. We only live once. And we must live our lives like men. That is why there is nothing for me to fear.

I do not love politics, because politicians are two-faced. But I have only one. I love honesty. When I talk to politicians, I say to them: "Let us take off the mask and talk honestly and frankly man-to-man." I love frankness.

Baku District Leaders Demand Elchibey's Return

LD2806184793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1652 GMT 28 Jun 93

[Text] Baku, 28 Jun—As a mark of protest against the decision of the National Assembly of Azerbaijan on handing over the president's powers to the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, the heads of executive power of all the districts in the republic's capital have suspended their activity. This was reported at a press conference held today at the headquarters of the Popular Front of Azerbaijan.

It was stated that this political action is temporary and will be continued until "all the conditions have been created for the return of Abulfaz Elchibey, the lawful president of Azerbaijan, to perform his duties."

In a joint statement, the heads of executive power of the Baku districts and the members of the Popular Front of Azerbaijan called the decision of the parliament "unconstitutional," having stressed that it was adopted "under pressure of arms." They stated that "they will continue the struggle to restore lawful authority," using all democratic and peaceful means.

In the words of the heads of the district authorities, in the last few days they have constantly been subjected to pressure, threats, and insults from the supporters of Surat Guseynov, and this is taking place right before the eyes of the present authorities and the bodies of law and order which are refusing to give any kind of guarantees of safety to the heads of the districts and their families. It was asserted by the participants in the press conference that anarchy does not threaten the districts headed by them, nor will the economy suffer since their deputies have been charged with dealing with all operational issues.

Iranian Consul Asks Elchibey To Return to Baku

NC2606132093 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 1243 GMT 26 Jun 93

[Text] Baku, June 26 (ASSA-IRADA)—Mr. Geydar Aliyev received ambassadors of Iran and China Ambassador of Islamic Republic of Iran Mr. 'Ali Akbar Nakhavandian told that Iranian consul in Nakhichevan met with President Elchibey and tried to convince him to return to Baku. But it gave no results. Ambassador of China Mr. Shuyuan handed the letter of the chairman of the Chinese Parliament to Mr. Geydar Aliyev. This letter expresses confidence that thanks to Mr. Geydar Aliyev's high qualities as politician and statesman Azerbaijan people will be able to find the way out of the difficult situation. Mr. Geydar Aliyev said that coming to power at this difficult moment he acts as the chairman of the Supreme Soviet and president and resting upon the wisdom of Azeri people he will do the utmost for establishing the normal situation in Azerbaijan Republic.

Aliyev Meets Turkish Envoy, Says No Policy Change

NC2506202993 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Text] Geydar Aliyev received the Turkish Ambassador to Azerbaijan Altan Karamanoglu today.

After the meeting, which was held in a frank atmosphere, the ambassador said: We are aware of the tense socio-political situation in Azerbaijan. However, I am sure that you will overcome the existing difficulties thanks to your experience, knowledge, and far-sighted policy. We are sure that the decision adopted by the Azerbaijan National Assembly yesterday will help stabilize the situation.

During the meeting, Aliyev briefed the ambassador about his telephone contacts with the Turkish president, the chairman of the Turkish parliament, and other leaders. Aliyev said: I and other Azerbaijani leaders worked hard to bring President Elchibey back to Baku, but we could not achieve it. The Azerbaijani National Assembly had to accept such a decision, which was the requirement of the conditions and of the times. It was not possible to adopt another decision regarding the president. There will be no change in our domestic and foreign policies.

Vefa Gulizade, state minister on foreign policy affairs, and Namik Akhundov, head of the international relations department of the republic's Supreme Soviet, were also present at the meeting.

Aliyev Cancels Oil Pact With Western Consortium

TA2606154493 Ankara ANATOLIA in Turkish 1445 GMT 26 Jun 93

[Report by Yusuf Kanli in Baku]

[Text] Baku (AA)—The effects of the coup in Azerbaijan, which began as a rebellion and which is nearing completion with the removal of President Abulfaz Elchibey's powers through a National Assembly resolution, are beginning to become apparent.

The first decision made by the administration of Geydar Aliyev, chairman of the assembly who holds the presidential powers, was to cancel the agreement signed with a multinational consortium, of which TPAO [Turkish Petroleum Corporation] is also a member, for oil exploration and drilling in Azerbaijan.

The agreement was signed on 11 June following negotiations that lasted over one year between the Elchibey administration and TPAO of Turkey; British Petroleum of Britain; Stat Oil of Norway; Amoco, Unical, McDermott, and Penzoil of the United States; and the national petroleum corporation of Azerbaijan, Socar. The Council of Ministers of the Aliyev administration canceled the agreement on 23 June.

Sources who recall that the same consortium—with the addition of Botas [Pipeline and Petroleum Transport Corporation]—previously signed an agreement with the Azerbaijani Government to build and run the Turkish-Azerbaijani oil pipeline, are wondering if the oil pipeline agreement will also be canceled.

Diplomatic sources in Baku remarked that the cancellation of the agreement "has revealed the color" of the Aliyev government.

The diplomatic sources noted that Azerbaijan is expected to demand that Russia also be included in the agreement to explore and drill for oil in the country.

According to the 23 June decision of the Council of Ministers of the Aliyev administration, within one week Azerbaijan will announce the changes it wants introduced in the agreement it canceled.

Meanwhile, the diplomatic sources consider it certain that the oil pipeline agreement will also be canceled, adding that they expect the Aliyev administration to request that the pipeline be directed to the Black Sea via Russia.

Under the oil exploration and drilling agreement, the consortium has already deposited a total of $100 million, $5.5 million of which belongs to the TPAO, in the name of Socar in a bank in Germany.

It has been learned that Socar has blocked the money in Germany in order to prevent the withdrawal of these deposits.

Aliyev Sends Message to Georgia's Shevardnadze

NC2506204193 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Text] Geydar Aliyev, chairman of the Republic's Supreme Soviet, sent a reply letter to the Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze. The letter says:

Esteemed Eduard Amvrosiyevich, I deeply thank you for the message you sent me on the occasion of my election as the chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet. The Azerbaijani people are linked to the fraternal Georgian people with ties of centuries-old friendship and good-neighborliness. I believe that the [word indistinct] ties between our states and parliaments would be built at a higher level for the (?interest) and [word indistinct] of our peoples. [words indistinct], and for the sake of our own citizens we must ensure adherence to all the norms of international law, human rights, and to the legality of democratic changes.

Sincerely,
Geydar Aliyev

Baku Reports Armenian Attacks on Agdam, Agdere

NC2706185393 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 27 Jun 93

[Text] The Azerbaijan Ministry of Defense Analytical Information Center has issued a communique stating that the tense situation in Agdam and Agdere regions further worsened the previous night and yesterday morning. A large unit of reinforcements and many armored vehicles were recently transferred from Armenia to that part of the front line. Using the new units, the Armenian Armed Forces have intensified their attack on Agdam. The enemy advanced from several directions at 0600 yesterday. They occupied [name indistinct] at about 1000. Meanwhile, violent fighting has been taking place close to Papravend.

The Armenian Armed Forces penetrated the defenses of our fighters and approached Papravend yesterday afternoon.

The situation in Agdere also has worsened. The enemy units moved against Agdere from Mazili, Metzshen, Akhundkamari, and (Mekhribad), which they occupied some time ago. A wave of intensive artillery fire preceded their advance. The Armenians advanced on Agdere from various directions up to two km. Our army units have been involved in bloody battles to obstruct the attack.

Armenians Occupy 6 Villages

NC2606132593 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 1243 GMT 26 Jun 93

[Text] Baku, June 26 (ASSA-IRADA)—Today Armenian troops blocked the road Agdam-Agdere. It happened by 11 a.m. ASSA-IRADA was told at the Presidential Press-Service.

As a result of large-scale offensive which Armenian military units began today against Agdam and Agdere districts of Azerbaijan Armenian military units managed to occupy 6 villages. There are two directions of this offensive. Artillery tanks infantry and aviation are used by Armenians in this offensive. According to the military sources the offensive lasts.

Armenians Occupy Agdere 27 Jun

NC2806100193 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 0830 GMT 28 Jun 93

["Agdere Was Occupied by Armenians"—ASSA-IRADA headline]

[Text] Baku 28.06.93 (ASSA-IRADA)—According to the information of deputy leader of Terter executive power Fahreddin Abbasov Agdere was occupied by Armenian troops at the morning of June 27. Dissatisfied by this success, Armenians are still advancing in the direction of Terter and they are in 7-14 km from it. If we don't have any assistance Armenians will soon occupy Terter and even Yevlakh—said F. Abbasov.

[Baku TURAN in English at 0902 GMT on 28 June adds: "Yesterday June 27 Armenian armed forces seized town Agdere (former Mardakert).

["Units of the Azeri National Army, under the impact of superior forces of the enemy were forced to abandon. As local headquarters of self-defense reports, military actions in this region continue.

["The situation in Agdam direction where the enemy keep 8 seized villages and Agdam-Agdere region under control, remains complicated. At present heavy defensive battles go on there."]

'Heavy Battles' Continue in Agdam

NC2806173193 Baku TURAN in English 1307 GMT 28 Jun 93

[Text] Baku, June 28 (TURAN)—As the deputy-head of the executive power of Agdamskiy region reports, heavy battles for the village Khydyrly, that is 2 km of the Agdam continue. Azeri Armed Forces deter the enemy's offensive for the present.

Last night and this morning Agdam was intensively fired by missiles and artillery. There are killed and wounded among the civil population. The information about the number of them is making more exact.

Information center of PFA [People's Front of Azerbaijan] quoted the head of the executive power of Geranboy [Shaumyanovskiy] region as saying, that the village Talish of Geranboy region was fired 12 missiles this morning. There are wounded and destructions.

Georgia

Shevardnadze Views German Visit, Abkhazia

LD2806122593 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0800 GMT 28 Jun 93

[Studio interview with head of state Eduard Shevardnadze by correspondent Nato Oniani in Tbilisi—live]

[Excerpts] [Oniani] Good morning, friends. The Georgian head of state and chairman of parliament, Eduard Shevardnadze, is in our studio today.

Mr. Shevardnadze, before my first question, I would like to familiarize you with results of an opinion poll. Responding to a question about the guidelines of Georgia's foreign policy, a large proportion of the polled, 67 percent, said they favored equal and friendly relations with all countries. In principle, this is the foreign policy pursued by the Georgian authorities today.

However, your visit to Germany and Belgium, from where you returned saying that you were very satisfied with the results, is not likely to have been prompted by the sole desire to have equal relations with all countries, especially so, since it came before a G-7 meeting.

[Shevardnadze] Thank you. Good morning. The purpose of the visit is correctly illustrated by the results of this opinion poll; that is, to achieve equal, beneficial, and friendly relations with all countries. This policy as you said is marked, although many people criticize the authorities for the absence of any policy. But that is exactly our policy. The art is to cooperate with all, both with our close neighbors and faraway friends.

I have already said a few words about the results of the visit. I will add a little more now: that is a balance of interests. Our geographic location, our geopolitical situation, internal problems and other factors urge us to look for this balance which will allow us to concentrate entirely on the internal problems and development of the country. The foreign policy sphere will help implement our internal policy, revive the country and overcome the crisis. One of the elements on the road to these challenging objectives was this visit, the meeting in Germany, talks with the Belgian leadership at the NATO headquarters in Brussels, and so on.

When talking about big politics, balance of interests and so on, we often forget one thing. There is one specific task. We should be looking for ways out of the economic crisis. I believe that relations with Germany, the foundation of which has just been laid, are one of the ways to emerge from this crisis. We received quite a lot with regard to this, not only promises but also genuine support. We could not have received a better response than the one given to us by the German authorities. If you have projects which are good and acceptable for us and beneficial for you and which meet the requirements of the market economy, there will be no problems with financing.

[Oniani] In spite of the unstable situation in Georgia?

[Shevardnadze] Yes, in spite of this. By the way, one firm, the world famous Siemens, has demonstrated this by signing a 50-million [currency not specified] contract with us. There are other firms, German economic giants, banks, and others which are ready. However, we will need to learn the art of preparing, drafting projects to develop certain trades, enterprises, both large and small. This will be necessary in order to receive the investment we have been promised.

Apart from this, the German leadership extended some economic assistance to us at this point in time. We will have the opportunity to acquire 20-30 million Deutsche marks worth of goods on the German market and bring them into Georgia. This is humanitarian aid, a present from the German people and German Government. Besides, there are also 30 million available to solve urgent agricultural problems, 10 million worth of technical assistance, 4 million in humanitarian aid and, finally, assurances of support to obtain additional credits from the EC.

If this is fulfilled, we can expect a slight relief for our people over the next few months. I know about the plight of the people; I know about their anguish. A helping hand extended by a friend is especially precious at this time.

Your opinion poll is very interesting. Our people's response to the main question shows that they understand the importance of our foreign policy, and this again speaks for our people's wisdom.

[Oniani] On many occasions you have spoken of a changing role for NATO at a time of aggravated conflicts. You concluded your speech at the meeting of the NATO Council by saying: Today, as I am confident of NATO's increasing responsibility for peace and security in Europe, I am asking you to include us in your sphere of attention. You had meetings with Manfred Woerner and John Malkhaz Shalikashvili. Later, when you returned to Tbilisi, you said that full guarantees had been received that Georgia would be supported. And, finally, you had been told that the issue of relations with Russia should now be tackled.

[Shevardnadze] You are probably interested in this final phrase. It stems exactly from the balance of interests. You can see how Georgia has been settling relations with other countries, how we started and how we are proceeding towards Russia. I think it is a clear policy, a clear line which has led us to a point when the Russian issue, the issue of settling relations with Russia appears on the agenda. Our people have matured for this issue. Some time was needed for that. Russia also needed some time to prepare for that.

I cannot tell you now when the agreements will be signed. They were supposed to be signed in June but the deterioration of the situation in Abkhazia postponed the signing. However, I must say that the position of the Russian leadership remains to create in the very near future a legal foundation for good-neighborly ties between Georgia and Russia.

As for our inclusion in the sphere of NATO's attention, NATO said everything it could have said today. We are talking here about the sphere of attention and certain assistance. But nobody should interpret this as NATO's readiness to deploy its warships and set up bases in Georgia and the Caucasus tomorrow. NATO is not ready for this now and we probably should not be asking for this either. However, the transformation of this organization into one of the main political and military guarantors for peace and stability in Europe is in our interests. The special importance which they attached to the visit by the Georgian Government delegation, the meetings and businesslike talks which took place testify to an increasing NATO interest in the Caucasus and Georgia in particular.

I must tell you that this does not run counter to Russian interests. On the contrary, it takes into account Russian interests. Russia and NATO should not be seen as opposing forces. It is not true. Even if there still are vestiges of this, they will disappear with time.

[Oniani] Mr. Shevardnadze, there was a barbaric bombing of Sukhumi on 24 June. You visited the town yesterday. At the same time, the situation in Samegrelo has become tense, as it often happens, creating an impression that the bombing of Sukhumi was a logical outcome of our internal strife and, unfortunately, treason, in addition to reactionary Russian chauvinism and Abkhaz separatism. This also coincided with your visit. It also looked like an act perpetrated by people devoid of the sense of balance, judging by the film taken in Sukhumi.

[Shevardnadze] The barbaric bombing might have been linked to my visit in some way, but I do not think that the visit was the main factor. You used a good and appropriate phrase—people devoid of the sense of balance. People who are destroying their capital, buildings, exterminating other people and so on are devoid of the sense of balance, to put it mildly. I saw it yesterday and it is difficult to sleep at night having seen it. I was left with the impression that it was probably an attempt to storm Sukhumi which did not materialize. I think it did not materialize because the opposing side's forces were not sufficient. Our troops were in full control of the situation and Sukhumi was defended well, which foiled the attempt to storm the town. However, the consequences are very serious.

As for the situation in Samegrelo, I am thinking and discussing it every day. I can see a solution. The main thing for the people there is to work, sow, harvest, pick tea, and so on. I do not think that that Samegrelo's case can be viewed separately. There is slightly more tension there than in other regions. But I think that a solution will be found in the near future and common sense will get the upper hand.

[Oniani] You learned about the events in Abkhazia during your visit to Germany. Was this the reason for your unscheduled meeting with President Kravchuk in Kiev or did the meeting become necessary as a result of your visit to Germany and Belgium?

[Shevardnadze] No, the meeting with President Kravchuk was scheduled before I went to Germany, and the reason for it was our special relationship with Ukraine, the nature of this relationship. This is common in relations between friendly states and there is nothing surprising about a meeting between the leaders of two friendly states which have signed not only a bilateral cooperation treaty, but also a mutual support treaty. As you know, there was plenty to talk about. We had a very interesting and useful dialogue. There are some who often look for something directed against a third country in this. This is not true. Together we were looking for ways out of the crisis. [passage omitted]

As you know, we have signed a series of economic agreements. It is possibile that we may import goods which are in short supply in Georgia, such as grain, bread, and dairy products. [passage omitted]

President Kravchuk named oblasts—for example Poltava, Kherson, Vinnitsa, and others—where our missions can go and negotiate agreements in order to obtain goods which are necessary for our people and country. It was a very good, friendly, very substantive, and useful meeting. [passage omitted]

[Shevardnadze] Please pay attention to my speech in NATO. Perhaps you could try and rebroadcast the speech, because I think I expressed in it our people's attitude toward European processes and spoke about events of the recent years, as well as a real threat faced by Europe and Georgia as a European nation. My ideas went down well and received the right interpretation. This discussion continued later in Bonn. It was a very substantive discussion and dialogue on changes which the West—and not only the United States—should introduce in its overall policy. To put it in a couple of words, I would use this formula: More care and a great deal of attention are necessary for Russia, since stability in Russia is a prerequisite for stability in other countries and Europe as a whole. Much more Western care is necessary for the countries neighboring Russia, because stability in the neighboring areas will create conditions for the development of stability in Russia.

The West welcomes this formula. The G-7 meeting should probably be held bearing this in mind. Preliminary documents reaching me show that the West now has a better understanding of the problems of the former Soviet republics and countries, independent countries. It ijn no way means that less aid should go to Russia. On the contrary, there should be more aid for Russia, but equally massive aid is needed for the other former republics of the Soviet Union, and Georgia in particular. I would not single out the United States alone. I am speaking about a coordinated Western policy toward our countries. [passage omitted]

[Oniani] The situation in Azerbaijan is still complex and a matter of concern for Georgia, as Azerbaijan is our immediate neighbor.

[Shevardnadze] I am monitoring events in Azerbaijan closely. It is for us not only a neighboring, friendly, and fraternal nation, but also a country without which our existence would be difficult. It would be tough for us to exist without each other. Despite the serious situation in Azerbaijan, we are still receiving everything from this friendly nation; they are helping us with everything. For our part, we are trying not to create difficulties, especially with transportation routes: we are letting goods through. They are in difficulty now and we are trying to be good friends.

As for the situation in Azerbaijan, the choice of the Azerbaijani people must serve as a law for us. We will respect and support those trusted by them. Nothing more than this should be said about it.

[Oniani] Thank you. Finally, let me ask you a question about the coupon. There are frequent complaints in this respect. It is true that the exchange rate of one ruble for four coupons is rather disproportionate, but at the same time it is encouraging that the rate has stabilized and that the coupon has stopped falling against the ruble.

[Shevardnadze] Yes, there is this slight positive trend. However, more work is needed for this trend to continue. Unless we manufacture goods, factories start working, and the agricultural sector starts creating produce, neither the coupon nor the dollar—had we introduced it—would help. A nation that is not working cannot live a normal life. If we want to strengthen the coupon and make the Georgian currency a fully fledged legal tender, we must work and create output. This is necessary. The coupon will become strong when everybody in the government, ministries, agencies, factories, and villages understands this.

Shevardnadze Issues Directive on Armed Forces

AU2606182093 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA in Georgian 17 Jun 93 p 1

["Directive of the Georgian Head of State on Measures To Ensure Law and Order, Increase the Struggle Against Crime, and Carry Out the Legal Education of Military Servicemen in the Republic of Georgia Armed Forces" issued in Tbilisi on 14 June]

[Text] In order to ensure law and order, increase the struggle against crime, and carry out the legal education of military servicemen in the Republic of Georgia Armed Forces:

1. A commission is to be created under the chairmanship of A. Shushanashvili, chief military procurator, deputy

procurator general, in order to elaborate a program for ensuring law and order, increasing the struggle against crime, and improving the legal education of military servicemen in the Republic of Georgia Armed Forces.

The commission is to include representatives of the Republic of Georgia Ministries of Defense, Internal Affairs, and Justice, the Information and Intelligence Service, and the Republic's Procurator's Office.

The Republic of Georgia Chief Military Procurator and Deputy Procurator General is to submit the composition of the commission for ratification by 30 June 1993.

2. The Republic of Georgia Ministry of Defense:

a) Is to hear the report of the Republic of Georgia Chief Military Procurator and Deputy Procurator General on the progress of measures aimed at ensuring law and order, increasing the struggle against crime, and carrying out the legal education of military personnel in the Republic of Georgia Armed Forces at an extended session of the ministry's collegium before 15 July 1993 and is to adopt the corresponding decree;

b) Is to discuss and resolve questions pertaining to the material and technical provision of the Military Procurator's Office before 15 July 1993 in accordance with Republic of Georgia Cabinet of Ministers Decree 231 of 15 March 1993;

c) Is to elaborate and submit for discussion and ratification a plan for improving military-legal activities in the Republic of Georgia Armed Forces before 30 July 1993;

d) Is to create a special commission that will make an inventory of military buildings, installations, equipment, weaponry, and other property, elaborate and submit proposals on increasing the protection of military property before 15 July 1993;

e) Is to introduce the appropriate changes and additions to discipline, internal, garrison, and security detachment rules in the Georgian Armed Forces, taking into account the legislative and normative acts adopted recently by the Georgian Parliament and the Cabinet of Ministers in connection with military questions and is to ensure their promulgation once again before 30 July 1993;

f) Is to study and submit before 20 June 1993 a substantiated conclusion on the necessity of the existence of a military police in the Georgian Armed Forces in accordance with Article 4 of Order 2 of the commander in chief of the Republic of Georgia Armed Forces of 8 February 1993;

g) Is to elaborate and ratify before 30 June 1993 rules on the wearing of military uniform; is to strictly demand from garrison military commanders that military servicemen observe to the letter the established rules regarding the wearing of uniform.

3. The Republic of Georgia Ministries of Defense and Internal Affairs:

a) Are to organize an inspection of the military combined units, units, subunits, and organizations subordinate to them before 15 July 1993; they are to elaborate and submit proposals for improving their material and technical base and abolishing those structural subunits, or changing their stationing location, that cannot be provided with the appropriate material and technical base;

b) Are to create special efficiency report boards and organize full efficiency reports on officer personnel in the Republic of Georgia Armed Forces before 30 June 1993 in accordance with the Republic of Georgia Parliament Decree "on the Implementation of the Law on Military and Special Ranks and Diplomatic Titles" of 29 April 1993; are to submit a final report on the results of the efficiency reports before 15 July 1993;

c) Are to send to all military subunits subordinate to them a collection of legislative and normative acts prepared by the Military Procurator's Office and also procedural instructions on the rules regarding the detection of crime in subunits of the Republic of Georgia Armed Forces, the instigation of criminal proceedings, and the preparation of primary materials and their handing over to the Procurator's Office;

d) In accordance with the rules established by the military commissariats, are to provide the entire personnel of the Republic of Georgia Armed Forces with military service cards, identification documents that are identical in form, and a chest badge that will bear the number of the military subunit before 30 July 1993;

e) By a special order, are to categorically prohibit military servicemen from carrying combat weapons in towns and other populated areas; are to implement the transfer of subunits in these places in an organized manner: They are to be accompanied by the commander and strictly observe the rules regarding internal service for the Armed Forces.

4. The Chief Military Procurator:

a) Is to prepare before 15 July 1993 a collection of military legislative and normative acts and also procedural instructions on the rules regarding the detection of crime in subunits of the Republic of Georgia Armed Forces, the instigation of criminal proceedings, and the preparation of primary materials and their handing over to the Procurator's Office and is to give them to the Republic of Georgia Ministries of Defense and Internal Affairs so that they may be sent to military subunits;

b) Is to check the situation regarding the observance of legality in the military commissariats before 15 July 1993; is to submit the results of the check and proposals for improving the activities of the military commissariats to the Republic of Georgia Ministry of Defense;

c) Together with regional military procurator's offices, is to create before 15 July 1993 coordinating councils composed of representatives of the command of military units and subunits, rayon and town military commissariats, military courts, and other law enforcement bodies in order to improve law and order and fight crime in the Republic of Georgia Armed Forces.

5. The Republic of Georgia Ministry of Justice is to prepare before 30 June 1993 a draft law on the administrative responsibility of those persons who arbitrarily confer upon themselves or others military and special ranks and who wear military uniforms and insignia without permission.

6. The Republic of Georgia Ministry of Justice and the Chief Military Prosecutor:

a) Are to elaborate and submit proposals on the legal education of military servicemen in the Republic of Georgia Armed Forces and the publicity of military legislation before 30 June 1993;

b) Are to prepare draft laws on the organization and activities of guard houses and a disciplinary battalion in the Republic of Georgia Armed Forces before 15 July 1993.

7. The auditing commission for the Republic of Georgia Defense Fund is to check the financial and economic activities of the fund and submit a conclusion on the contribution of sums to the Defense Fund and the legality of their use before 30 June 1993.

8. The Republic of Georgia Cabinet of Ministers:

a) Is to accelerate the ratification of the statute elaborated by the Republic of Georgia Information and Intelligence Service on a single system for ensuring the personal security of the leadership of the Republic of Georgia and public and state figures and persons having diplomatic immunity who have arrived in the republic from foreign states and the rules regarding the organization, financing, and efficiency of armed protection;

b) Is to discuss the question of revoking Republic of Georgia Government Decree 984 of 9 October 1992 "on the Complete Transfer to the Republic of Georgia Ministry of Defense of Plots of Republic of Georgia State Land and the Fixed Assets of Military Settlements and Military Naval Bases Located on Them Belonging to Former Union Military Departments, Troops, and Institutions and Determining Their Sphere of Use" and Republic of Georgia Cabinet of Ministers Decree 169 of 26 February 1993 "on the Confiscation of Property Illegally Acquired or Stolen by Private Individuals from Russian Military Units Located on the Territory of the Republic of Georgia" as these decrees contradict existing legislation and the norms of international law, violate the legal rights of citizens and organizations, undermine the Georgian National Army and the authorities, and create the danger of serious conflicts....

9. Following the introduction of a single system for the armed protection of the Republic of Georgia leadership and public and state figures and persons having diplomatic immunity who have arrived in the republic from foreign states, the Republic of Georgia Ministries of Defense and Internal Affairs and the Information and Intelligence Service are to take measures to disband and halt the activities of groups of bodyguards at the disposal of those individual officials who, according to the established rules, should not be eligible for armed protection.

10. Major General G. Qarqarishvili, Republic of Georgia minister of defense, Police Major General T. Khachishvili, minister of internal affairs, I. Batiashvili, head of the Information and Intelligence Service, town mayors, and chairmen of town and rayon gamgeobas [administrative boards] are to ensure the implementation of Point 9 of Order 2 of the Georgian head of state and commander in chief of the Armed Forces of 8 February 1993 on the disbandment of all illegal armed formations, no matter to which party and organization they belong. Otherwise, the weapons belonging to those illegal armed formations are to be forcibly confiscated and the question raised of the prohibition of the activities of those parties and organizations in accordance with the rules established in law.

11. A group from the military-analytical department of the apparatus of the Georgian head of state is to be entrusted with implementing this directive.

[Signed] Eduard Shevardnadze

[Dated] Tbilisi, 14 June 1993

U.S. Ambassador Kent Brown Ends Visit to Ajara

LD2806165593 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1300 GMT 28 Jun 93

[Text] The visit to Ajara of Kent Brown, U.S. ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Georgia, and the persons accompanying him ended today.

We are thankful for the warm reception, said Kent Brown at the news conference held before his departure. We did not have enough time to familiare ourselves with this region, and I would like to visit you again. Stabilization is retained here and it is good. This is the atmosphere which the United States would like to see in the Caucasus. Kent Brown highly assessed the Ajara leadership and noted that very well qualified and intelligent personnel are available, and that they have managed to ward off a conflict.

The ambassador answered the media correspondents' many questions. Aslan Abashidze, chairman of the Autonomous Republic of Ajara Supreme Council, took part in the news conference and presented the guest with a painting.

Kent Brown returned to Tbilisi today.

Abkhazian Leader Interviewed on 'War' With Georgia

LD2906103193 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1800 GMT 28 Jun 93

[Interview with Abkhazian leader Vladislav Ardzinba by correspondent Andrey Karaulov in Gudauta on 31 May; from the "Moment of Truth" program—recorded]

[Text] [Video shows Ardzinba seated in a garden with armed soldiers nearby] [Karaulov] Vladislav Grigoryevich, it is strange, at the end of the day. Surely you could have made Khrushchev's Pitsunda dacha your residence? Instead, you have chosen this house. The lavatory—I do beg your pardon—is outside. We can see the sink from here. Why is that so?

[Ardzinba] In the first place, Khrushchev's former dacha does not, as yet, belong to us. Also, it is the property of the Republic and its people. I think that we have combat conditions here, in keeping with today's reality.

[Karaulov] I do not recall a case of your appearing on either Ostankino or Russian Television screens for more than two minutes. Ahead of us is a whole hour: Could you not, if you want, make some sort of statement? If so, please go ahead. Make your statement. You will be heard.

[Ardzinba] Well, in the first place, I am grateful for this opportunity to make my voice heard. Unfortunately, we were not given such an opportunity earlier, because there are certain forces and certain circles that are not interested in the truth about Abkhazia being heard more widely.

[Karaulov] Here is the main question: When will this war end?

[Ardzinba] I think that, in order to answer this question, it is necessary to answer the question why this war started here in Abkhazia. In the first place, all this happened on 14 August. Today is May. The weather is fine. The weather is even nicer in Abkhazia in August. It is a typical holiday time.

There were 20,000 vacationers in Abkhazia a year ago. People were calm and confident. Suddenly, this little world, this little corner of paradise, was invaded by about 100 tanks and armored personnel carriers. Combat helicopters appeared, which immediately opened fire on the town, on the beaches where people were resting. People were frantic all over the place. Vacationers were fleeing. The first casualties were recorded, because the first shells hit the Moscow Military District Sanatorium. Servicemen resting in the sanatorium lost their lives. This, then, is how the war began for us.

There is an account, and similar accounts, that the troops arrived to protect a railway, that they were battling against terrorism. They are being repeated even now. Moreover, it is claimed, in what I would describe as a cynical manner, that the leadership of Abkhazia agreed to the introduction of these troops in our territory. Naturally, none of this has anything in common with what things are really like. This is because, in the first place, Abkhazia was Georgia's quietest and calmest region at that time. The very fact that there were so many vacationers here confirms this. Also, generally speaking, no one in the world protects their railways with tanks. We have a railway in operation now, and not a single tank is to be seen nearby, apart from what is quite simply a necessary guard.

Indeed, the external cause consists of the fact that an attempt was made to resolve by force the problem of mutual relations between Abkhazia and Georgia. It was an attempt to eliminate Abkhazia's statehood, one involving an open genocide of the Abkhaz people and all other people who live in our multinational Republic.

The goals of the people who brought the troops here had precisely these aims. Abkhazia has existed as a state for 12 centuries. I mean its statehood. We became part of Russia in 1810. We retained our autonomy as part of the Russian state until about 1864. We became a part of Russia on our own, independently of Georgia. After the 1917 revolution, Abkhazia was a part of the Allied Union of Cossack Troops—Caucasus highlanders and the free steppe peoples. Then, in 1918, Abkhazia became a part of the Gorskaya Republic [highland republic established in November 1920, called Gorskaya Avtonomnaya Sovetskaya Sotsialisticheskaya Respublika, survived until 1924]. However, in 1918, the Georgian Democratic Republic was established. Immediately after the establishment of the Georgian Democratic Republic, Georgian troops were sent to Abkhazia, and the territory of Abkhazia was occupied.

This continued until 1921. In 1921, these troops were thrown out, and a sovereign and independent Soviet Socialist Republic of Abkhazia emerged, which, in practice, continued to exist until 1931. Under Stalin's pressure, it was forcefully transformed into an autonomous republic and included in the Georgian SSR. According to the Constitution of the Abkhaz Autonomous Republic, the Constitution of the Georgian SSR, and the USSR Constitution, Abkhazia—even though an autonomous entity—is a state, with its borders, its own territory, its own parliament, and its own government. That is to say that relations between Abkhazia and Georgia even during that period were relations between two states.

Together we formed part of a state as a single entity, and that state disintegrated. Georgia returned to its old 1921 Constitution, which makes no mention of any Abkhaz Republic, not even an autonomous one. That is to say, it is, in fact, the constitution of a unitary state. Naturally, under such conditions, the parliament of Abkhazia was forced to take measures to protect its statehood. We adopted a decision, in which we also returned to our old constitution, the 1925 constitution. It is a constitution of a sovereign state, which entered into a treaty with the Republic of Georgia. This treaty defined its relations with Georgia. We decided to sign a treaty with Georgia, concerning mutual relations between both republics.

It is precisely on the day when troops were introduced into our territory, 14 August, that the Abkhaz parliament was due to have debated the issue of a draft treaty with the Republic of Georgia. And so, from the viewpoint of mutual relations, the essence of the question consisted of the following: On the one hand, there was a peaceful proposal on our part to resolve the problem of mutual relations by peaceful means and, on the other hand, as a return measure, tanks arrived in Sukhumi.

[Karaulov] You know both the history of Georgia and the history of Russia very well. You know, there was a time when all the territory of Georgia was called Abkhazia. I would still like to start our conversation from the end, however. We will certainly return to the events that began a year ago, but it is now the beginning of June. The war has been going on for nine months. I will repeat my question. Tell me please: When do you think this war will end?

[Ardzinba] In the first place, we have submitted the appropriate proposals. They were conveyed to the representative, roving ambassador Mr. Bruno, who visited us recently. We conveyed our proposals, and they were brought to the attention of the Georgian and Russian sides. They are a plan for a peaceful, civilized solution to the problem of the war in Abkhazia. They include, in particular: pulling back troops from the line of confrontation; then withdrawing all troops from the territory of Abkhazia; introducing peacemaking forces; restoring the work of the legitimate bodies of power; creating the necessary conditions for people to return to their permanent homes; and, of course, the question of compensation for the damage that has been inflicted by the Republic of Georgia in Abkhazia.

[Karaulov] Mr. Ardzinba, would Abkhazia like to join Russia?

[Ardzinba] Well, I would reply to that question like this. First, we—on behalf of the Abkhaz Supreme Soviet—have sent our appeal to the Supreme Soviet of Russia, which raises the question of taking Abkhazia under the protection of the Russian Federation or of incorporating it.

[Karaulov] Georgia will never agree to Abkhazia becoming a part of Russian territory. Is that not so?

[Ardzinba] This is not what Georgia will not agree to. Georgia will not agree—it is trying not to agree—that the people of Abkhazia are trying independently to determine their destiny.

[Karaulov] If the question is actually Abkhazia's secession from Georgia, however, and if Russia suddenly takes Abkhazia into its fold, then war will begin—a real war—between Russia and Georgia.

[Ardzinba] Then Russia has to guarantee the possibility of the whole of Abkhazia—independently and without pressure—being able to determine their destiny independently, as a great state, as a permanent member of the Security Council. After all, one of the basic provisions of the UN Charter and other international treaties is to refrain from using force when resolving such issues. After all, look at Yugoslavia. The international community wants the republics to determine their fate independently. Take the decisions on Eritrea. Take, let us say, Kuwait. When aggression was carried out against Kuwait, the international community wanted the aggressor to withdraw his troops from Kuwaiti territory. I think that the situation in Abkhazia does not differ at all from the situation that you had in Kuwait.

[Karaulov] Let us be a tiny bit more specific about all these things. What if Russia remains on the sidelines—we will not use the word genocide for the time being—Russia remains on the sidelines and fails to accept your proposals? Nor can it do so, since no matter what the relations between Georgia and Abkhazia are like, all the maps in the world show Abkhazia as being Georgia's territory. Are there any other ways to resolve this conflict? Can Abkhazia remain a part of Georgia as a federation? If the answer is yes, what conditions must be satisfied?

[Ardzinba] Well, in the first place, it is often said now that Georgia is not yet ready to follow the path of a federative system. It is, of course, simply an artificial judgment, since, as I have already shown, in reality Georgia had already been a federation. So, as far as Abkhazia is concerned, the concept of the federation holds nothing new for us. Abkhazia, in the first place, is a territory on which our state has already been in existence for 1,200 years and on which we have a right to self-determination as a people. After all, the Georgian state emerged and also exists on the basis of this right to self-determination, as applied to the Georgian people.

Why should another people be deprived of this right? Is it only because it is small? Then, however, if we really do live in a civilized world and wish to be guided by the principles of a civilized world, let us take the International Bill of Human Rights—of which the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and two international pacts are parts. The first articles say that all peoples have a right to self-determination and that, by force of this right, they freely determine their political status, defining their economic, social, and cultural development. That is to say, this right is part and parcel of human rights. Why is it that our people are being deprived of this right—one of the most fundamental of all human rights?

[Karaulov] You will be told that this is because it is not just the Abkhaz people who live in your country, in Abkhazia. Above all, Georgians live here, along with Armenians, Russians, Jews, and so on and so forth.

[Ardzinba] Perfectly true. However, the point is that we have no intention of building a state for one nation alone. What we do intend to build is what we had before—a multinational state. We are talking about a state in which the rights of any citizen, irrespective of his nationality, will be secured and ensured.

[Karaulov] But maybe, to make a start, Abkhazia should renounce the idea of becoming a part of Russia in order to discuss all these issues in a calm atmosphere?

[Ardzinba] I think that we do not have to renounce any idea. This is because, as I have already emphasized, if we fail to find a way to resolve this question within the terms of reference given to the leadership of Russia, then, naturally, there also exists another way. There is a way to create a state that will not be a part of either Russia or Georgia. A democratic state will follow that will be a demilitarized zone. After all, Abkhazia's specific features must also be taken into account. It is a unique region, both from ecological and other points of view. It can simply become a place where people can take their vacations—not from the entire Soviet Union, as was the case earlier, but from the whole world.

[Karaulov] All the same, you are talking about leaving Georgia. Forgive me for interrupting you, but if the question is put this way, Shevardnadze will never sit down to a negotiating table with you. It is a priori unacceptable to Georgia.

[Ardzinba] You know, this way of putting the question—that it is acceptable to some and unacceptable to others—reminds me, on the whole, of the way Stalin used to put things. I have here something from Stalin's speech, delivered at a dinner at Voroshilov's, to mark the GOSR anniversary. We have united the state in such a way that each part that is torn away from the common socialist state not only harms the latter but will not be able to have an independent existence and will inevitably fall under alien bondage. For this reason, anyone who attempts to destroy this unity of our socialist state, who strives to tear away an individual part or an individual ethnic group from it, is an enemy, a sworn enemy of the state and the peoples of the USSR.

In principle, this approach shows through what you are talking about. This is the reason why the peoples right to self- determination exists. No people should be deprived of this right.

[Karaulov] But Voroshilov, surely he is neither here nor there?

[Ardzinba] Not Voroshilov, Josif Vissarionovich. You see, what you should understand is this: Many borders of a state, of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union fell apart. This means that here, within that state, many borders were purely administrative. They were not state borders. Self-determination is needed before you carve up a living organism. The peoples of a number of republics must be given an opportunity to determine themselves who they wish to live with in the future. Why is it that some have a right to leave that state, while others, for some reason, have no wish to remain within the framework of some sort of single common entity.

[Karaulov] With this approach, the war will continue for all eternity. Is that not so, Vladislav Grigoryevich?

[Ardzinba] So, from your point of view, if one side has force and military potential and can foist itself on another side, a weak one, then the weak one has no alternative left other than to do the other's bidding?

[Karaulov] Given the present-day historical realities, Georgia will never, under any circumstances—references to Voroshilov or ancient history notwithstanding—agree to Abkhazia ceasing to be a part of its territory.

[Ardzinba] There was a time when the same thing was said of the Soviet Union. Unfortunately, as you know, reality became completely different. I must tell you that many republics that have now become sovereign states were autonomous oblasts, autonomous republics, at a time when Abkhazia was a Soviet Socialist Republic. They have now become independent states. At that time, it was perhaps inconceivable that things would turn out this way. I think that here, too, it is a perfectly natural process.

[Karaulov] But you are a politician. You are duty-bound to find a peaceful solution to this issue. Or maybe you are not a politician?

[Ardzinba] You see, politics is the art of the possible. Abkhazian history is full of repeated instances of conqueror states invading us. They wanted to subjugate and humiliate our people. Nonetheless, Abkhazia managed to withstand it. Those who had come here have long since disappeared. After all, Hitler also invaded the Soviet Union. What about politicians? Why did they not manage to stop it? What is taking place here is the most ordinary form of fascism. This is because, if we take here the statements of citizens who were subjected to vicious terror, statements of citizens whose children were raped in front of their very eyes, children who were shot dead in front of their very eyes, if we took a look at this, I must tell you, without any exaggeration whatsoever, that when these facts are made fully public, the world will be horrified at the horrors perpetrated and being perpetrated here, in our country, in Abkhazia, now.

[Karaulov] I believe all this, Vladislav Grigoryevich. But, I repeat, you are a politician. As long as the war continues you, as leader of the state, must - I think - seek a peaceful solution to this question. But you keep on talking about secession.

[Ardzinba] We are saying this: if you withdraw your troops from Abkhazia, we can sit down at the negotiating table and try to find a solution to the problem. But you won't force us to accept this.

[Karaulov] All right. Let's imagine that the Georgians withdraw their troops and you sit down at the negotiating table. What happens next? Let's try to imagine this situation.

[Ardzinba] Time will tell, but I have to tell you that with each passing day it gets harder to find a solution to the problem of relations between Abkhazia and Georgia. In August it was much easier than in September. In September it was easier than in—each day it get steadily more difficult for these two peoples and republics to find a way of living together.

[Karaulov] All the same, Vladislav Grigoryevich, forgive me for persisting with this question. If the Georgians agree to withdraw their troops and you sit down at the negotiating table, what could you propose? That's my question but you keep saying time will tell. Can't you be a bit more specific? Are you prepared to compromise? Do you have realistic proposals to make?

[Ardzinba] We proposed a compromise. It exists. I also regard this as a compromise.

[Karaulov] Could you talk about it please?

[Ardzinba] I believe that the compromise should take the following form. First of all, troops must be withdrawn from Abkhazia. No compromise is possible unless Georgia abandons force as a way of solving this problem.

[Karaulov] Let's digress for a moment. You are not an old man, but during this year you have certainly experienced a very great deal. What has this war taught you, personally? What has this war meant to you?

[Ardzinba] I don't think it has revealed much that is new to me, since my father has been disabled since the Patriotic War. He fought in that war and was seriously wounded near Kharkov. So, on the whole, I know quite well what war means, if only from the example of my father. Furthermore, I am a historian. I know what war means.

The main thing which this war has taught me is probably the fact that none of us citizens of Abkhazia was ready for the level of barbarity and terror committed on the territory of Abkhazia. Every time we felt that it was simply impossible. When the troops entered Sukhumi, a close friend of mine, a member of the Abkhazian parliament, told the members of his family to stay at home, as the soldiers wouldn't go there. In other words, we thought they would not actually go into people's homes - we considered that impossible. We never imagined that they could come and enter the building of an institute and set fire to books and archives, that they could plunder museums or that they could destroy monuments. We did not imagine that it was possible, for example, to degrade children, women and people in general. The degree of that barbarity was more than anything we could imagine. So in this sense, the war has taught us, and me too, a great deal.

[Karaulov] I understand, Vladislav Grigoryevich. But then again, what you have is not a simple war, but a war to which there is no end. Nevertheless, is it not up to you, as president of Abkhazia, to try to see that light at the end of the tunnel? I am trying somehow - I want to find out and I am approaching you in an attempt to find at least a hint of when it will all end, and to my horror I see that it will never end.

[Ardzinba] I think it is hard to agree with you, because there is a perfectly realistic way to ensure a peaceful development: the withdrawal of the Georgian forces. Forgive me, but if Hitler had taken Moscow, would the Russian people have accepted having to reconcile themselves under those circumstances to the fact that the capital of their state was in Hitler's hands, simply because he had stronger forces?

[Karaulov] Has Russia been a good help to you in this war?

[Ardzinba] I answered this question when I was visited by a UN representative. When he asked me, I said that Russia really is helping us a great deal—but only because Russia is handing weapons over to the Georgians. We take these off the Georgians, and they become ours. Unfortunately, the weapons we take from them are not the most up-to-date. Therefore, it would be nice if the Americans were to supply the Georgians too, then we would have modern American weapons as well. So, the assistance is substantial.

[Karaulov] Are Russian soldiers fighting in Abkhazia at the moment?

[Ardzinba] I can quite definitely state that no single Russian soldier has taken any part in the conflict throughout the entire duration of this war. I stress this.

[Karaulov] No, I was referring to other Russian soldiers. Are mercenaries fighting on the Abkhaz side at the moment?

[Ardzinba] Right from the start of the war in Abkhazia the Georgian side has very actively propagated rumors that those brothers of ours from the north Caucasus who have come to help us are mercenaries. However, it is well known - and any of these men would confirm this - that these are not mercenaries but volunteers who have come to render us fraternal assistance.

[Karaulov] Why then do Russians who have been captured by the Georgians after fighting here as mercenaries claim that they were paid 10,000, 15,000 and even 30,000 [currency not specified] by the Abkhazians? Are these lies?

[Ardzinba] In the first place, I don't know of any instance in which Russians who were fighting on our side were taken prisoner. I don't know if these were real facts. Georgian TV showed servicemen from the Transcaucasus military district who were, supposedly, trying to get through to Abkhazia to fight on our side. Incidentally, many units of the Transcaucasus military district have been supplying information about the movement of our troops and vessels to their district headquarters. From there all this information ended up in the hands of the Georgian command.

[Karaulov] But you saw my program with Jaba Ioseliani. In that program we showed some footage in which three men - one from Novosibirsk, a second from Moscow, and the third from somewhere near Nikolayev - said that they had been fighting here with your military formations. They had been promised money. Their travel expenses had even been paid. One stocky, fleshy-faced boy, with a big bruise under his eye, urged his friends in Moscow to get wise. We were deceived in Abkhazia - they shot us from behind to avoid paying us, he said. Can't he be believed?

[Ardzinba] Well, in the first place, during this program you yourself emphasised the strange way in which these people had been beaten.

[Karaulov] Yes, all of them really ...

[Ardzinba, interrupting] They had been beaten up in a strange way. I know of very many people - including Abkhazians - who were captured in Sukhumi and who were beaten and forced to sign statements saying that they would cooperate with Georgian intelligence. Then these people arrived - these facts are well known.

[Karaulov] How do view the sensational statement by Army General Grachev in Murmansk, his claim that the Georgians themselves are bombing Sukhumi, that they have repainted planes in Russian colors and are bombing their own people? [Ardzinba] We can show you a recording of the interrogation of the most recent Georgian pilot shot down by us over Eshera, and he tells you in answer to questions that there have been instances of Georgian aircraft bombing the city of Sukhumi.

[Karaulov] Do you mean that the Georgians have been bombing themselves?

[Ardzinba] That's right. It was important to certain people to provoke such a situation and to show it on television as an example. In addition, the so-called chairman of the Council of Ministers of Abkhazia made a declaration expressing condolences to those who died, although nobody actually died. He obviously counted on people dying. They are, unfortunately, former masters where falsification is concerned.

[Karaulov] Do you really believe that yourself, Vladislav Grigoryevich?

[Ardzinba] Believe what?

[Karaulov] That the Georgians are today bombing their own positions to falsify something.

[Ardzinba] No, I am saying that there have been instances, but I hope there is no doubt that we are likewise bombing Georgian positions.

[Karaulov] The whole world is busy guessing today how Abkhazia has managed to have so many weapons. A year ago, in fact, there were no Abkhazian military planes, no tanks, no armored vehicles—nothing! And suddenly everything has appeared. Have you bought all this?

[Ardzinba] I can't say that everything has appeared suddenly.

[Karaulov] Within 9 months.

[Ardzinba] It has appeared within 9 months.

[Karaulov] Have you bought it?

[Ardzinba] Judge for yourself. Ochamchira rayon has no links with Russia; that is to say, this rayon is seized, or rather is besieged. Right? Besieged. In this rayon we now have tanks, armored vehicles, heavy machine-guns, mortars and so on. We have seized them from the enemy. Ochamchira Rayon is completely besieged, as I said, one can't even get helicopters to fly there.

[Karaulov] What about airplanes? Have you hijacked them from Georgians as well? The planes that you have...

[Ardzinba, interrupting] Why so? We have acquired the planes, acquired them. [Karaulov] From Russia?

[Ardzinba] We acquired planes where we could.

[Karaulov] This is a military secret; I take it you are not going to reveal it.

[Ardzinba] Of course not. You see, this is a funny situation in a way: Georgia is constantly demanding from Russia that no weapons should be brought into Abkhazia. Georgia itself receives these weapons in unlimited quantities, so to speak. It seizes them. These seizures are, in my view, a fiction, because they say they have seized weapons but in most cases the whole thing is prearranged. They take these weapons, they have all unlimited possibilities for bringing weapons from outside. However, they want to put us into a situation where we would have no arms and could be exterminated freely.

[Karaulov] Excuse me, what kind of a position is this?

[Ardzinba] Are we expected to fight off the Georgian attacks with bows and arrows? Why should we? We also find our own ways of defending and arming ourselves. But the Georgians actively help us in this respect.

[Karaulov] What do you think of Russia's position on this, Vladislav Grigoryevich? How do you yourself view it?

[Ardzinba] Well, I would call it fairly two-faced.

[Karaulov] Why?

[Ardzinba] Judge for yourself. First, there is the fact that large quantities of weapons were handed over shortly before the troops invaded. One can be absolutely sure that Russian intelligence knew perfectly well that these forces were going to invade Abkhazia. We do not rule out the possibility, either, that certain other high-ranking official circles also knew that these troops would invade Abkhazia. At the same time, their position on the situation in Abkhazia was very restrained to start with.

On the 26th President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin issued an appeal to the leadership of Georgia and Abkhazia in which he called for the unconditional withdrawal of troops from Abkhazia and advocated a peaceful solution of the problems. But at the same time the latest talks, the latest communique which was signed, contained quite definite information which we know about. One of the sides which took part in the talks, the Georgian side, has explained that the question of withdrawing the Esheri laboratory was discussed during the talks and claimed that such a decision had actually been taken.

Furthermore, I recently received a telephone call from Shevardnadze. When I asked him when the withdrawal of heavy equipment from Abkhazia, as promised in the communique, would actually begin, he said that this question would have to be resolved at the same time as the withdrawal of Russian troops from Abkhazia. When I asked him whether there was any linkage between the two questions, he said that there was a linkage. We have already discussed this question, he said, and a Russian military delegation will shortly arrive for talks with us and we will resolve this question.

In fact, information has started coming in recently that such a decision—the withdrawal of troops from Abkhazia—is being made. In other words, there would appear to be one level of talks, one level of information—and another one hidden behind. So, naturally, we are very concerned about this. What is really going on? After all, the Russian leadership announced a clear-cut position: until the Abkhaz problem is resolved, until a peaceful solution is found to this problem, no treaty will be signed with Georgia.

At the same time there is information—we hope it is inaccurate—that preparations really are being made for the signing of this treaty, and that the Georgian side only needs this cease-fire to create the impression that everything is heading toward peace in Abkhazia and that the treaty can be signed. But by signing this treaty, Georgia will obtain almost 250 billion rubles. It will receive economic aid and, above all, weapons. Once it has obtained all this, it will resume the war in Abkhazia with fresh force.

[Karaulov] Now I don't understand a thing. Can't you simply say whether you think Russia is for Abkhazia or for Georgia or whether, in fact, it wants to remain on the sidelines? Can you give a straightforward answer?

[Ardzinba] Well, I think it is virtually impossible to give a straightforward reply. In the first place, I am profoundly convinced that the Russian public, the broad Russian public, is very sympathetic toward Abkhazia's problems. It is a pity of course that, say, the Russian intelligentsia do not speak their minds loudly enough. When Andrey Dmitriyevich Sakharov spoke about the problems of Abkhazia, he made his position quite clear.

[Karaulov] But you've dodged my question, Vladislav Grigoryevich.

[Ardzinba] No, I haven't dodged your question. I have cited specific pronouncements by Russia's leadership, specific decisions by the Russian leadership. We hope that policies will be based on the decisions and statements which have been made.

[Karaulov] Have you spoken to Yeltsin over the telephone often?

[Ardzinba] No, unfortunately. This has happened sometimes, but very seldom.

[Karaulov] Have you been in touch with Rutskoy more frequently?

[Ardzinba] No, this happens very infrequently. There are many problems in Russia at the moment, and it seems that they do not have any time for us.

[Karaulov] I believe Georgia has introduced its own currency, hasn't it? But you have remained within the ruble zone. You are using the ruble in Abkhazia.

[Ardzinba] Georgia hasn't introduced its own currency yet. It has introduced coupons.

[Karaulov] Coupons.

[Ardzinba] Coupons are the first move. Preparations are now under way for the introduction of a national currency.

[Karaulov] But you are using rubles.

[Ardzinba] Yes. We feel that we must remain within the ruble zone.

[Karaulov] Where are you getting these rubles from, if it's not a secret?

[Ardzinba] Well, we sell commodities and receive these rubles in return. If you like, you could say that we smuggle goods and bring rubles back in.

[Karaulov] These commodities are mandarin oranges, are they?

[Ardzinba] Why just mandarin oranges? We have more than just mandarin oranges. We produce tea, tobacco and much else besides.

[Karaulov] In other words you are saying that you sell tea and tobacco to Russia, and that the earnings from that are enough to ensure that Russian rubles are available all over Abkhazia at the moment?

[Ardzinba] I certainly can't say that they are enough because, as I have already told you, we haven't received a single cash ruble for 10 months. Therefore, we are forced at the moment to pay, perhaps, the smallest pension throughout the territory of the former Soviet Union - 700 rubles - simply because we don't have ready cash.

[Karaulov] At the moment the line of defense follows the Gumista River.

[Ardzinba] In the first place, the line of defense doesn't just follow the Gumista River, because there is another line of defense which passes through Ochamchirskiy Rayon, far beyond Sukhumi. That has been the eastern front all this time. We also have positions there, behind enemy lines.

[Karaulov] There are regular exchanges of fire, but not much more than that.

[Ardzinba] No, no. The situation there is very difficult and [word indistinct]. The fighting which is taking place there may even be the most serious in Abkhazia at the moment, because the Georgian command is constantly exploiting the truce here, any lull in the exchanges of fire, to reinforce that area, to complete its program of ethnic cleansing. Look what's happening.

Russians are fleeing Sukhumi. Armenians and Greeks are fleeing too. With great difficulty we are also evacuating Abkhazes from there. What remains there, basically, is an ethnically cleansed Georgian community, which is what Georgian politicians wanted. The same thing is being attempted in Ochamchirskiy rayon. Remember how we evacuated refugees from there with great difficulty. A Russian helicopter was shot down and 62 people—most of them women and children—were killed.

It's reminiscent of the fate of the Korean Boeing. Articles about that are still appearing. But attempts are being made to hush up the fate of this helicopter. There has been virtually no investigation into how all this happened, even though it has been proved beyond doubt that this helicopter was shot down by a missile, and all the victims were women and children. Now that a truce is in force, another helicopter carrying humanitarian aid, flour and medicine to Tkvarcheli has been shot down. Five Russian citizens who were crewing this helicopter were killed.

[Karaulov] You say this is your land. The Georgians say it is their land. The argument over this disputed territory could go on endlessly. I think this is common land. That's how it seems to me, for some reason. Yet there is no hope whatever that, in spite of everything, peace will prevail in this land. Maybe an attempt should be made to achieve peace, to find some third way. After all, it does exist. Surely it does exist. It simply must exist because the war has reached stalemate.

[Ardzinba] I don't look at this question so pessimistically. I know our capital is still occupied. As I told you, it was taken without a single shot being fired. Yes, we are in a grave, difficult situation, of course. Nevertheless, we have managed during this time to prove that we can defend our land. No matter how small our nation may be, it's not that easy to destroy, even though the enemy has everything it needs for destroying people. But I don't think we are alone.

In the first place, we are not so few as some think. We have a large diaspora—about 500,000 Abkhazes live outside our motherland. They are ready to come here, to stand alongside us. Our brothers are also prepared to stand alongside us. I think that this is a serious factor with which Georgia will have to reckon.

Abkhaz Sources Report Shelling of Novyy Afon

LD2806152393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1030 GMT 28 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Irina Shchegoleva]

[Excerpt] Sochi, 28 Jun—The past 24 hours passed relatively quietly on the Gumista front line. However, exchanges of machine-gun fire began in the early hours of today on the central sector of the front, which continued until 0800. An ITAR-TASS correspondent was informed of this by the press service of the Abkhazian Supreme Soviet.

According to the same source, the Georgian side again fired from howitzers on the town of Novyy Afon during the night. The walls of the famous Novoafonskiy monastery were badly damaged as a result of the attack. The Abkhazian side claims that targeted firing is being carried out on the railway and roads.

Yesterday during the day, according to the Abkhaz side, the villages of Mokva, Merkula, Atara Abkhazskaya, Baslakhu, and Kutol, all in Ochamchirskiy rayon, continued o come under artillery and mortar fire. The villages of Mokva and Baslakhu were subjected to intensive shelling during the night. At 1100 the village of Chlou was fired on from howitzers. According to the Abkhaz side's preliminary figures, there are dead and wounded among the civilian population. [passage omitted]

Abkhaz Settlements Shelled, Casualties Reported

LD2906120993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1130 GMT 29 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Irina Schegoleva]

[Text] Sochi June 29 TASS—It was relatively calm in the Gumista front line on Monday, both Georgian and Abkhazian sources said.

However, on Monday night and at 6:00 a.m. Tuesday, Georgian troops shelled Abkhazian positions and a laboratory of Russian troops in Nizhniye Eshery from large-calibre machine guns and grenade launchers, the press service of the Abkhazian Parliament reported today.

The press centre of Georgian troops stationed in Abkhazia reported that Abkhazian troops had been shelling Georgian positions from automatic guns throughout the night.

The press service of the Abkhazian Parliament said that late on Monday and in the early hours of the morning Georgian troops opened mortar fire and shelled from tank weapons the settlements of Reka, Baslakhu, Mokva, Tamysh in the direction of Ochamchir. Casualties among civilians were reported.

Defense Council Chairman Assesses Abkhaz Situation

LD2806192093 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1821 GMT 28 Jun 93

[Text] In an interview with the CONTACT news agency, Tamaz Nadareishvili, chairman of the Defense Council of the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia, outlined a situation that has come to be in Abkhazia lately and said that the work carried out by a group of Georgian MPs led by speaker of the parliament, Vakhtang Goguadze, had proved to be very fruitful. The group of MPs familiarized themselves with the situation, met the local population, inspected the rayons which suffered the bombardments and also participated in the defense council session. Nadareishvili added that as a result of the bombardment of late, 15 people had been killed and 32 wounded, half seriously. The center of Sukhumi is nearly completely destroyed. Due to incessant shellings, a decision was made to transfer town hospitals to a safer place. The chairman of Defense Council did not leave without giving his attention to economic and social issues: enough bread is not being baked in the town and there is no fuel.

Different international organizations and journalists, who have a possibility to see everything with their own eyes, arrive every day. A decision was recently made by the Russian leadership that in case the shelling of Sukhumi does not stop, it (the Russian leadership) will have to take extreme measures. In this regard, Nadareishvili expressed his apprehension lest this statement should remain merely words.

Estonia

Prime Minister Laar Visits Germany

LD2806124093 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1700 GMT 27 Jun 93

[Excerpts] Prime Minister Mart Laar has begun his visit to Germany. Ain Saarna asked the prime minister to comment on the aims of his visit.

[Begin Laar recording] In this sense it is definitely quite an important visit; this is the first time that the prime minister of the Republic of Estonia is visiting Germany. [passage omitted]

It is certainly at a very appropriate time for Estonia in tems of gaining support for our endeavors and ideas in the current Estonian climate. The fierce propaganda attack from Russia and the pressure on Estonia amount to a problem which in fact no longer concerns only Estonia but the whole of Europe. As Swedish Prime Minister Carl Bildt said in his comments, with such statements Russia is in essence placing itself clearly outside such institutions, (?according to European traditions).

In this sense I think that it is naturally very useful to promote knowledge of our situation and our issues, even more so since Germany is one of the countries that has assisted Estonia very substantially to consolidate our independence. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Meets Kohl, Kinkel

LD2806164593 Tallinn Radio Estonia in English 1520 GMT 28 Jun 93

[Text] Estonian Prime Minister Mart Laar met Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel of Germany today during an official visit to Bonn. Laar also participated in the opening of the new building of the Estonian embassy in Bonn and delivered a speech on Estonian foreign policy. The Estonian prime minister will also visit the cities of Hamburg and Stuttgart during his three-day visit. Mart Laar is accompanied on his visit by Estonian Economics Minister Toomas Sildmae and Bank of Estonia President Siim Kallas.

Gas Company To Pay Half of Debt to Russia

LD2806160993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1524 GMT 28 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Excerpt] Tallinn, 28 Jun—The gas crisis, that has not even begun in Estonia, is drawing to a close. This was announced today by the management of the Estonian Gas enterprise. It intends to pay off half of its debt to Russia, $40 million [as received], in the coming few days. The remaining half, also 40 million Estonian kroons, will be paid later. [passage omitted]

Deputy Speaker Assails Opposition on Foreigner Law

LD2806160393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1510 GMT 28 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn, 28 Jun—A stab in the back for Estonian statehood, was how Tunne Kelam, deputy speaker of the Estonian parliament, described the opposition's actions: They have launched into kicking up a fuss over the law on foreigners at a time when it is still only a draft.

In an interview with journalists just before his departure for Strasbourg to attend the European Parliament session, Tunne Kelam, who heads the Estonian delegation, used very strong language in regard to the centrist faction, the representatives of which, he believes, have arbitrarily substituted one term for another and have made out the parliament's legitimate desire to decolonize the republic to be ethnic cleansing, directed against Estonia's Russophone community.

Minister Reacts to Planned Referendum in Narva

LD2906105193 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1700 GMT 29 Jun 93

[Text] Narva town council has decided to hold a referendum on 16 and 17 July. The referendum will ask the question: Would you like Narva to enjoy the status of a territorial autonomy in the Republic of Estonia?

Reform Minister Liia Hanni, acting for the prime minister, will now comment on this decision.

[Begin recording] [Hanni] A little while ago, the republic's government received three documents that were adopted today by the Narva town council. The most serious of those is the resolution of the Narva town council to call a referendum. The referendum question demonstrates that, on this occasion, the Narva town council has entered into a conflict with the republic's Constitution, which sets down that Estonia is uniform in its administrative organization of the country and that only laws can regulate what rights local governments enjoy. The government plans to approach the justice chancellor with the proposal that he declare the Narva town council resolution anti-constitutional. According to the Constitution, the justice chancellor has the right to issue such orders so that within 20 days, all resolutions must again be brought in line with both the Constitution and laws. if this is not done, the state court will be within its rights to declare the Narva town council resolution null and void.

Naturally, we hope that the Narva town council members and the people of Narva will take the time to familiarize themselves with the laws adopted by the parliament, including the law on foreigners, because these laws do not contain at all what the Narva town council now claims they do. The aim of those laws is not to dispose of Russians or to deport them, as it is claimed.

Those laws are aimed at providing security to the population, at determining its legal status, and at ending this ambiguous situation that is reigning in Estonia with respect to many people.

[Unidentified correspondent] So, in your opinion, the council as a whole has simply not understood the law properly?

[Hanni] This is how it seems, that in this case we are talking about an information gap and insufficient understanding, perhaps even about an unfortunate translation of the laws. Because, indeed, the claims made in the council statements are not at all correct. The texts of the laws speak of something different. [end recording]